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Monday February 12 1996

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The Guardian INTERNATIONAL

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46,473

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Media

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G2 pages 8/9

The man who made TV great again

NYPD Gold Profile of Steven Bochco



G2 pages 4/5

Dublin attacks British strategy □ New fear over loyalist paramilitaries

Adams pleads for a lifeline



A newly painted graffiti on a wall in west Belfast offers a comment of sorts on Friday's bombing in London's Docklands

PHOTOGRAPH: CRISPIN ROOMELL

Police warning of more IRA bomb attacks

Patrick Wintour, David Sharrock and Duncan Campbell

THE Irish government launched a furious attack yesterday on Britain's strategy for peace in Northern Ireland in the wake of Friday night's London bombing, describing it as like "throwing petrol on a fire".

As John Major convened an emergency cabinet meeting to discuss the fall-out from Friday's blast in Docklands that left two people dead, the Irish prime minister said Britain's insistence on elections to a Northern Ireland assembly as the best way forward was a "serious mistake".

In a 20-minute phone conversation with Mr Major yesterday, John Bruton urged him to withdraw the plan. His comments came as a senior police officer warned that the IRA could attack other targets of economic or political significance.

David Veness, assistant commissioner of the Metropolitan police, said: "It is too early to say whether this is a one-off attack or whether it represents a renewed long-term campaign of violence."

Paced with the prospect of a full-scale resumption of the IRA's mainland bombing campaign, Sinn Fein leaders appealed to Dublin and London for concrete concessions to take to the IRA as a means of restoring the ceasefire.

Sinn Fein's president, Gerry Adams, insisted the IRA was open to persuasion, but pleaded yesterday: "What is the point in me going to the IRA unless I am able to go with a persuasive argument?"



Sinn Fein strategist Martin McGuinness said he had no case to present to the IRA for restoring its ceasefire.

"The British government must bear total responsibility for the collapse of the peace process," Mr Adams writes in the Guardian today. "It has been guilty of criminal neglect. Sinn Fein has repeatedly pointed out that the peace process could not stand still, if it was not moving forward, it was in grave danger of moving back."

There was mounting concern in London and Dublin that Unionist paramilitaries were preparing to mount a bombing campaign in Ireland, especially if the IRA bombs London again.

Friday night's bomb, between 600 pounds and one ton in weight, had been placed on a flat-back Ford Cargo lorry with false registration plates, it emerged yesterday. It had been spotted by an officer, PC Roger de Graaf, moments before the explosion.

Police were studying thousands of feet of closed circuit

television film yesterday attempting to trace the vehicle's movements and see if there are any signs of the bombers leaving the lorry.

The two men killed in the explosion, whose bodies were found on Saturday, were named as Iman Ul-Haq Bashir, aged 28, of Stratford, south-west London, and John Jeffries, aged 31, of Bromley, Kent. Three seriously injured people remain in hospital.

To Mr Adams's anger, Dublin broke off all ministerial contact yesterday with Sinn Fein until the IRA returns to the ceasefire.

Mr Bruton insisted that until the IRA issued "a simple statement restoring the cessation" there would be no face-to-face contacts with Sinn Fein. "You can't in a democracy negotiate under threat of violence," he told Irish radio.

With Dublin openly hopeful the ceasefire can be reinstated, Mr Major was under pressure from Mr Bruton not to punish Sinn Fein by making their inclusion in all-party talks more difficult.

However, there was no sign Mr Major was going to risk being seen to reward terrorism by weakening his stance.

The Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, said on BBC's Frost on Sunday that the peace process was "very seriously injured, but not terminally injured".

The Ulster Unionist leader, David Trimble, said it would be "represensibletif the electoral process was set aside by the use of violence".

Frank Stagg's left back, when he worked on the buses in Coventry, would not be going to pay his respects to his former team-mate. "I might have some before what happened on Friday, but now I wouldn't dream of going up there."

But the locals, like the marchers, blame John Major for the collapse of the talks. Two customers in Mr Kieley's pub were just leaving for the league match between Mayo and Sligo, but one stopped to say: "John Major had 18 months to get things moving and he did nothing. There's no sympathy for the IRA here but people are blaming Major for what happened."

Down by St Muredach's cathedral, the locals regarded the marchers from a distance. They leant against the railings in a spirit of curiosity rather than solidarity. There was no sign of the rumoured 12 buses that were to come down from the north, just the old stalwarts gathered loyally in the rain.

The few that were young among them spoke with the harsh opinions of youth. "It's unfortunate what happened in London, but something was going to have to happen. John Major and the Unionists had ground the peace down to a halt," said Edith Corcoran, aged 23, from Ballina.

The older republicans leant back against the cathedral of the rain or hoisted their banners calling for the release of IRA prisoners in Britain. Their reflections were more sober. "The loss of life in London on Friday was a tragedy," said Aidan McNulty, aged 58, who had gone to the meeting from Castlebar. "I supported the republican movement for 25 years and I think Sinn Fein

In a rainswept graveyard, an old gloom descends

IT IS poignant that the first event organised by Sinn Fein since Friday's bomb and the end of 17 months' peace should be in a graveyard.

Yesterday, in the West of Ireland town of Ballina, Martin McGuinness and some 200 people gathered on a wet hillside to honour and celebrate the memory of Frank Stagg, an IRA terrorist who died on hunger strike in a Yorkshire prison 20 years ago.

In the graveyard, covered in brown winter brambles, the mood was more of people going to a funeral.

For 17 months, Ballina had been welcoming new tourists confident enough to come in from Germany and Italy to fish on the river Moy with the likes of Jack Charlton and willing to pay £180 a day. Now the people of Ballina were coming gloomily out of 11 o'clock Mass, where Father Flynn had returned to a familiar refrain and asked them to pray for peace.

"There will not be many from the town at that march," said one of the men drinking Guinness under a photograph of Elvis Presley and watching a re-run of Saturday's Blackburn Rovers v Manchester United match.

Even William Kieley from the pub across the road, who had played centre forward to

needs our support at this time. They were trying very hard to get things done but they were blocked all the way."

There was a defensiveness in their faces, a reluctance to speak to the British press and an anger that the peace process seemed to have failed. The man running the meeting called for a decade of the Roman Catholic rosary for the repose of Frank Stagg's soul, and a drunken man shouted "No surrender" a couple of times before someone told him to shut up.

Twenty years ago, when Stagg was buried, the scene was different. IRA men jostled with 800 police carrying out orders from the Irish government that Stagg should not be honoured with a republican plot. A concrete lid was laid over the grave to prevent the body being moved. The IRA waited for three years before they dug up Frank Stagg and buried him in their plot of honour.

Yesterday no-one was in a fighting or defiant mood. The only police were two officers in plainclothes, there to see "who was about". A young man of 15 passed them on his bicycle and asked: "Who's Frank Stagg - is he long dead?"

Martin McGuinness told the crowd that Gerry Adams was a courageous and very intelligent leader, who could not be blamed for the end of the ceasefire. "The message that should go out from Frank Stagg's grave today is that it is John Major who must bear responsibility for its failure." The crowd murmured in assent.

Along the river from the cathedral a plaque honours the Irish president, Mary Robinson. When she was inaugurated she told the nation: "As a native of Ballina, one of the most western towns in one of the most western provinces of the most western nation in the world, I want to say, the west's awake."

Yesterday, as the crowd turned away from the grave, it felt as if the place had slipped back into a weary and depressed slumber.

"The cumulative evidence of the past 18 long frustrating months points damningly to a British government strategy locked into a psychology of war, a mindset which demands victory over republicans rather than agreement and compromise. We have witnessed bad faith and dishonesty, new preconditions, stalling, negativity and provocation."

Gerry Adams, page 9

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Inside

News 2
Lifestyle 3
Comment 9
Obituaries 10
Financial review 13

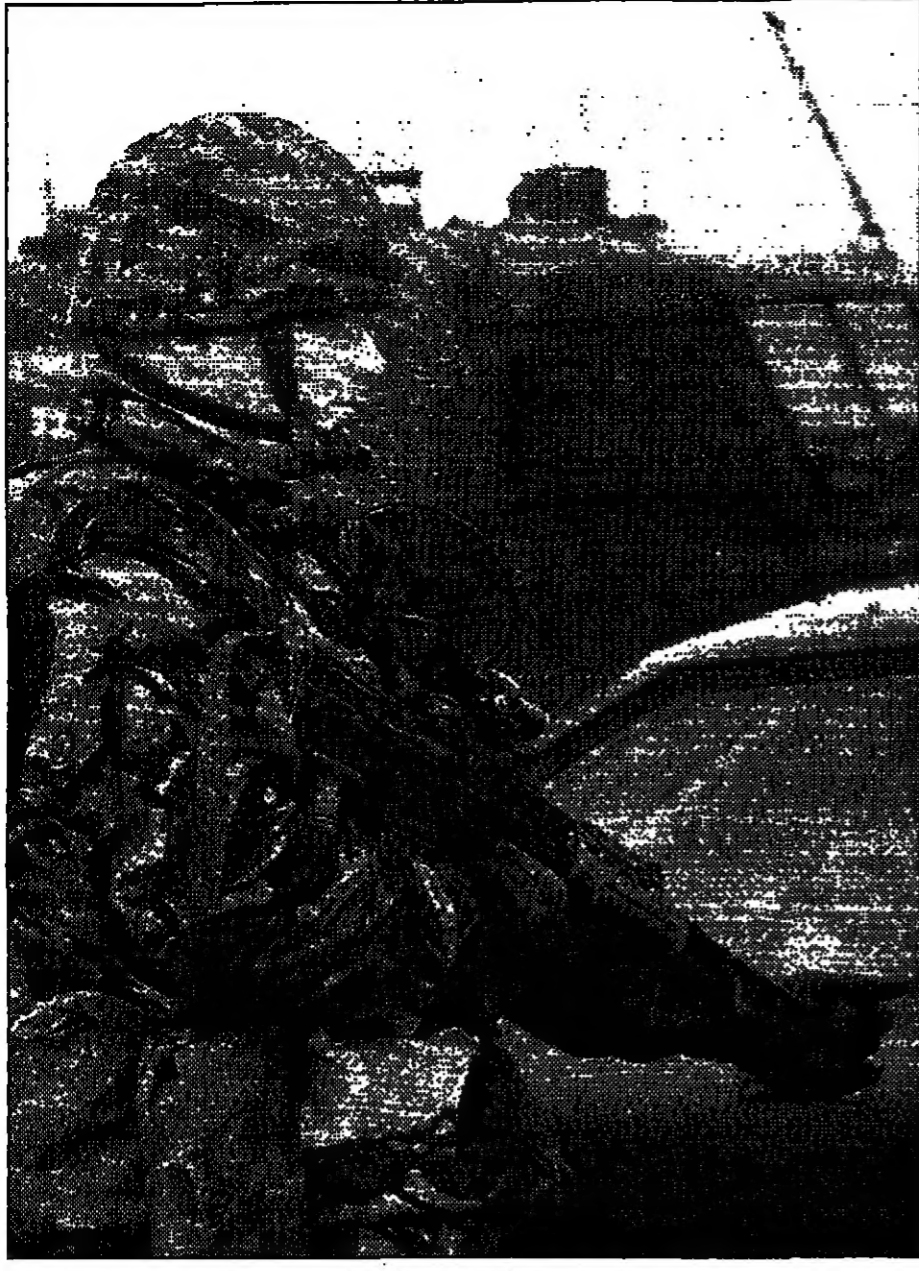
G2

Page Notes 3
Photo 4/5
Media 7/9
Business 10/11
Arts 12/13

Book Crossword 15
Cartoon 15
Radio 16
Television 16
Weather 16



The Guardian
theObserver
Premier Newspapers



A soldier helping police at a roadblock near Belfast yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: MAX NASH



Martin McGuinness joins the march to the cemetery in Ballina yesterday to commemorate the death of Frank Stagg

PHOTOGRAPH: ALAN REVELL

Commander John Grieve, head of the Anti-Terrorist Branch, would not predict more bombs. But he did suggest that security managers should clean their video cameras and check there was fresh tape in them

Setbacks on all sides

Papers

UNITED STATES
The New York Times
The IRA's leaders "have made a terrible mistake by returning to violence. They cannot gain more through terror than they can through the patient pursuit of peace. If anything, a new campaign of terror will only set back their cause and wound their people."

Mr Major "should reconsider his approach to arranging all-party peace talks. He has been playing a dangerous game of brinkmanship with the paramilitaries, gambling that they would not return to violence and insisting unrealistically that the IRA hand over some of its weapons before such talks could begin. He seemed not to understand that Mr Adams offered a hope for peace and needed to be able to show his followers some concrete advantage in putting down their guns."

The Boston Globe
"The Irish Republican Army says it wants Ireland under a nationalist government. The already dubious prospects for this result were shattered on Friday as decisively as the windows blown out by the bomb in London."
"There are grounds to question Britain's insistence on disarmament and new elections. But by breaking the 17-month-old truce, the IRA has put the onus on itself. Diplomatic manoeuvring cannot be



compared to a deadly assault on innocent people."

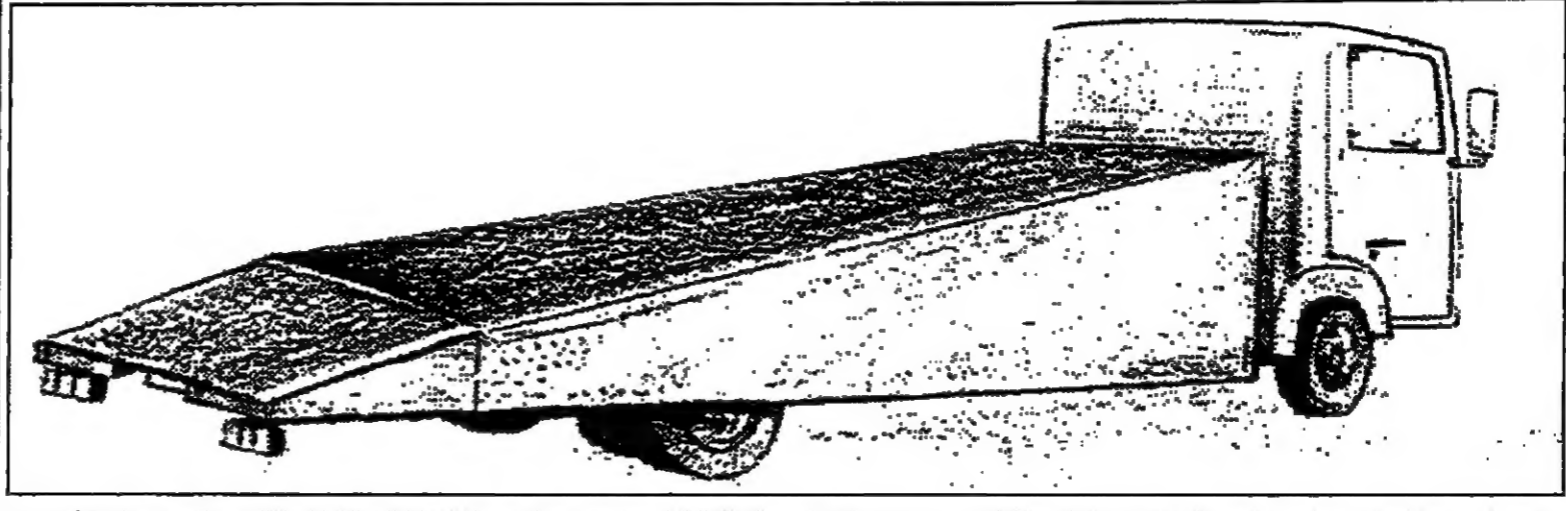
IRELAND
Sunday Tribune
"Mr Adams and Sinn Fein cannot have it both ways — they are either committed to peace or they are not. If they are not, they know their future: life as they lived it for the past 25 years and political isolation. If they are committed to peace and demonstrate that commitment, their future is fashioning an accommodation within which they and their neighbours can live happily. Mr Adams needs to decide fast who are his friends and who are his enemies."

Belfast Telegraph
"It will be very difficult — some would say impossible — to pick up the pieces, but it must be attempted. The first

necessity is for the British and Irish governments to patch up their recent differences, which have been so damaging to the peace process, and speak out with one voice against any renewed IRA campaign."

Sunday Independent
"To hope to advance a peace process by acts of terrorism is simply a contradiction in terms. No democratic government or party can act under the duress of such violence to accommodate Sinn Fein around any negotiating table. On the other hand, there is now an urgent need for the Ulster Unionist party leader, David Trimble, to take risks comparable to those taken by Albert Reynolds and John Hume in the past. The time has come for courage and enterprise on the part of all the constitutional parties."

Close shave for PC who found bomb lorry



An artist's impression of the flat-back Ford Cargo lorry upon which Friday night's bomb — weighing between 500lb and one ton — had been placed



Duncan Campbell
Crime Correspondent

THE blue flat-back Ford Cargo lorry parked in a slip road outside the South Quay Plaza One building on Friday afternoon was packed with up to a ton of home-made explosives. The vehicle, an artist's impression of which was issued yesterday, is now at the centre of the police hunt for the bombers.

The constable who spotted the lorry and evacuated hundreds of people from the area gave details yesterday of the explosion.
PC Roger de Graaf, aged 30, based at Limehouse police station in east London, said: "There was a rumble and

what felt like a 200mph wind coming past my ears. I was knocked off my feet on to the floor and I curled up like a ball."
"I thought, I'm going to die now, my time is up. I looked around, there was a car coming at me, an automatic stuck in gear. The driver was in shock. I thought, I've survived the bomb. I'm just going to get run over now. I just managed to roll over and the car stopped as its bumper hit my back."
PC de Graaf, who suffered an eye injury, added: "We be-

"There was a rumble... I was knocked off my feet on to the floor and I curled up like a ball. I thought, I'm going to die now, my time is up"

came aware of this vehicle. We were actually all sort of standing next to it. We said: 'Maybe this one shouldn't be

here'. We did some checks on it, and the results of those checks aroused our suspicions a bit more. At that point we decided if it was going to be anything, that was going to be the vehicle." His instincts were correct.
Yesterday Commander John Grieve, head of the Anti-Terrorist Branch, said that they were anxious to trace the movements of the vehicle, which had a false registration plate — C 292 GWO. The vehicle genuinely entitled to this registration is now in the police's possession.

Commander Grieve said that the vehicle had been adapted at some stage and information was being sought on its history. A number of witnesses had seen it prior to the explosion. He would not say how long he believed it had been parked.

"We have got a lot of good closed circuit TV," said Mr Grieve, who gave a press conference at the site of the bomb, with glass still hanging from the windows of buildings nearby and with office fire alarms still ringing. He appealed to security managers to retain all their video-cassettes until it could be checked. "Hang on to your tapes until we know where this lorry has been."

He also appealed to people in the vehicle repair or conversion industry and those involved in vehicle auctions to come forward with information.
The bomb is likely to have been between 500 lb and a ton, he confirmed. It left a 14ft-

Officers pursuing the bombers will know no-one has been successfully prosecuted for many of the IRA's most high-profile attacks

wide crater and caused damage of up to £150 million, insurance assessors yesterday suggested.
Mr Grieve said the investigation had been hampered because the explosion had ruptured gas mains. He said it was "amazing" that more people were not killed.
The IRA is highly conscious of the fact that video surveillance is now established

around many of its likely targets. Although City of London police had run down their "ring of steel", the IRA was aware that all cars going in and out of the City would have their number plates electronically monitored and the chances of leaving a vehicle without being observed by a security camera were limited.

Mr Grieve would not predict whether more bombs would follow. But he did suggest that security managers should clean the lenses of their video cameras and make sure there was fresh tape in them.
The anti-terrorist officers now pursuing the bombers will be aware that no one has yet been successfully prosecuted for many of the IRA's most high-profile mainland attacks.

Those include the 1989 bombing of the Royal Marine bandmen in Deal, Kent, in which 11 died; the 1990 murder of Conservative MP Ian Gow; the 1991 mortar attack on Downing Street; the 1992 bombing of the Baltic Exchange in which three people died; the 1993 Bishopsgate bomb in which one person died; and the 1993 Warrington hotel in which two children

Stray glints of hope amid the darkness

Belfast

John Mullin

BELFAST had made it to the 527th day of peace, the drugs murders and punishment beatings aside, and it even dared to believe it might really be permanent. Few had given it much chance back in August 1994, but scores of lives had been saved.
Yesterday there was a bewildered air of loss. It was the sudden, almost unannounced manner of bereavement which had caught the city of 280,000 souls on the hop.
Suspicion had returned from the back burner. Father Martin Kelly, parish priest at St Agnes Church in republican west Belfast, was unhappy to see a pressman at morning mass. He refused to expand afterwards on his condemnation of the Dockland killers.

"I don't want you near my church," he even refused to divulge his name.
The church choir of school-children summed it up with

Bring Flowers of the Rarest. A girl sang: "I watched the sunshine fading away."
Perhaps the priest's reticence was understandable. The church, which has hosted more terrorist funerals than any other in Northern Ireland, is three doors' along from Sinn Fein HQ in Andersonstown.

A green ribbon hung on the crumbling fence of Connolly House with a plea to passers-by to sport green ribbons until all republican prisoners were home. They, and their loyalist colleagues, are unlikely to be back on the streets for some time now.
The congregation of nearly 150 was dominated by grey heads. Many of them were shaking as their owners greeted friends they were seeing for the first time since Friday evening. There was little doubting the topic.

Josephine Fox, 57, a secretary, said: "I think people were having their doubts, but we can hardly believe it has happened like this. The killings are an insult to the people in whose name they were supposedly carried out."
"It has been a lovely 18 months. My greatest pleasure

has been to watch my grandchildren do ordinary things which would be second nature anywhere else. All we can do now is wait. But it does look as though it's only a matter of time before the whole thing kicks off again."
But John Herald, aged 53, a caretaker, saw a problem ahead for the Provisional IRA. "There isn't the will for troubles now. It is true the British haven't played fair, but nobody wants to go back to what it was like before."
Hugh Lavery, aged 57, who runs a newsagent's, said: "I feel angry with myself. I never thought at first it would last for more than five minutes, and there I was allowing myself to think it was for real. You would think I would know better at my age."

Many places in working class Belfast are drenched in horror. Outside Mr Lavery's shop was played out one of the most sickening atrocities of the troubles: two soldiers who drove into the funeral cortege of an IRA man in March 1988 were beaten and shot to death.
George Stockman, aged 31, is also a newsagent. His promises are in loyalist territory

on the Shankill Road, across from Frizell's fish shop. Thomas Begley, aged 21, an IRA bomber, took nine Protestants with him to his grave in October 1993.

Mr Stockman, his tattooed arms bearing legend to Glasgow Rangers' treble winning exploits of 1978, despairs of the IRA's move. Most loyalists, he believes, were ready, just about, for Sinn Fein's inclusion at all-party talks before any decommissioning of weapons. "That's what makes what happened in London so desperate. I can't see us getting so close again."

The more middle-class elements in the Unionist camp were turning out at Ian Paisley's cavernous Martyrs Memorial Free Presbyterian Church in east Belfast. The congregation cut an austere dash in charcoal and navy. The women were in hats.

The leader of the Democratic Unionist Party delivered a 50-minute sermon without a single note. "People say we are all responsible for the bombing in London. It's a lie. The people who are responsible for it are the ones who made it, planted it, and detonated it."

His booming voice ebbed and flowed. His crescendos were met amongst the 200 or so churchgoers with shrill Hallelujahs.

The service ended with a hymn, The Abundance of Rain, but it was delivered in an upbeat manner, and outside, as the sun threatened to break through the clouds, one of the worshippers, Michael Whitley, 42, once shot during the troubles, looked on the bright side.

"This is a fantastic country. There are many evil people but the others are the friendliest you could meet."

There were 3,169 people who lost their lives in the 25 years of the troubles. But living went on for the others.

And so it was yesterday in Belfast for old Tommy O'Neill, off on a six-hour round trip to Bray, south of Dublin, to watch point-to-point horse racing. Martin Morrissey, 16, hoping to keep up his goal-scoring efforts as centre forward for the St Agnes church team; and Sharon Hughes, 24, nicknamed Bubbles and the city's most tattooed woman. She was starting her honeymoon yesterday.

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Reaction
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Gerry Adams at the funeral in October 1993 of IRA bomber Thomas Begley

If the shot-across-the bows theory is correct about the bomb, there is the slimmest of hopes that Mr Adams can get his show back on the road. If another bomb goes off, we will know that he has been sidelined

Major 'missed chance'

Reaction

Patrick Wintour

BITTER recriminations broke out across British and Irish politics yesterday over the collapse of the ceasefire. Nationalist politicians and the Irish prime minister, John Major, claimed John Major had squandered an unprecedented chance to end centuries of conflict. The British and Unionists hit back, blaming Sinn Fein for failing to persuade the IRA to start decommissioning weapons and so create the trust needed to bring Unionists to the negotiating table. The post-mortem on whether Mr Major made serious misjudgments is likely to determine his long-term political reputation. Inevitably, the strongest criticism of Mr Major's cautious negotiating tactics came yesterday from Sinn Fein, but even some Conservative backbenchers were expressing fury at what they privately described as Mr Major's decision to opt out of the peace process. The bulk of the Conservative Party, however, will give Mr Major undiluted support for the difficult judgments he has made over the past three years. Similarly the Labour Party, wedded to a bipartisan approach, will not reproach Mr Major for failing to bring about all-party talks more speedily. Martin McGuinness, the

leading Sinn Fein member, was one of Mr Major's most bitter critics yesterday, complaining Sinn Fein had been promised all-party talks within three months of the ceasefire and "in reality there has not been one word of negotiation" between the parties. "We took the greatest risks of all. We put our lives on the line to bring peace to this country and that was not reciprocated by John Major. We did not have one major concession from any senior figure in the British government urging the Unionists to come to the negotiating table. The British prime minister wants no change at Westminster and the Unionists want no change in Northern Ireland." Mitchell, McCloughlin, chairman of Sinn Fein in Northern Ireland, was equally angry. "The Irish side had already delivered all sides to the negotiating table. The British had promised they could deliver the negotiating table and they had failed, and we were looking at a further 15 months of paralysis because of the arithmetic at Westminster." John Hume, leader of the SDLP, unequivocally condemned the bombing, but claimed that if the British government had been stronger at Westminster, with a clear majority, all-party talks would have been under way a year ago. Albert Reynolds, the former Irish prime minister and an architect of the ceasefire, at

tacked Mr Major for imposing a precondition of a start to IRA decommissioning before allowing Sinn Fein into all-party talks. He said the precondition had never been included in the initial Downing Street Declaration. The Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, countered that it had been implicit in the declaration's calling on all parties to be wholly committed to peaceful means. He pointed out that the British had made important concessions by dropping its demand for an IRA commitment to a permanent ceasefire. He also blamed the Unionists. "We regret deeply the lack of generosity of the Unionist community over the past 16 months that they would not even talk to the Irish government in a twin track process agreed by their government." His foreign secretary, Dick Spring, also complained. "We could have used the Mitchell Report to far better purpose." Sir Patrick disagreed, arguing that the key remained finding a way for the Unionists to trust Sinn Fein. Sinn Fein also came in for attack from Mr Bruton for reporting to far better purpose. As Friday's bomb demonstrated, the inner workings of the IRA leadership are known only to itself. What is certain is that the decision to end the ceasefire



John Bruton — strong critic; George Mitchell — key report; John Hume — entered caveat

Double-bind threat to Adams's credibility



David Sharrock

THE fog of uncertainty surrounding the future of Gerry Adams may take days to lift, as Downing Street and Dublin scour intelligence reports for evidence that there is still some point in talking to him. The Sinn Fein president's role in the Northern Ireland peace process was absolutely central to its success — until the IRA bombed the Isle of Dogs last Friday. Government officials on both sides of the Irish Sea want to know: Did he know of the bombing in advance? If he did, his credibility as a man exclusively committed to peaceful methods is shattered; but if he didn't, has he now lost his position of influence within the IRA? Whatever the answers, there can be no doubt that the announcement ending the ceasefire is a shattering blow to Adams and the peace strategy he has painstakingly constructed, in the face of opposition from within his own camp and from outside. The Sinn Fein president did not run for cover this weekend. He fielded interviews after interview, refusing in each to condemn what for all his new-found allies — constitutional Irish nationalists and republicans — was the indefensible resort to murder and mass destruction, tactics of a republican movement everybody hoped had gone for ever. He claims — and it is widely believed — that he knew nothing about the bomb until he was informed by reporters telephoning him for his diaries of the period when the IRA was making its decisions. In January 1994, the taoiseach insisted: "I'm tell-

been taken in the light of the political situation, but not what their consequences would be or when they might take place. Asked if he would now be stepping aside, Mr Adams played the demagogue. He had no plans to resign, but if that was the popular opinion of his party, he would not hesitate in standing aside for a new leadership to take over. But the price of survival would be heavy. The resumption of "military operations" is totally at odds with the objective of reaching all-party talks with Unionists. If the shot-across-the-bows theory is correct about the Docklands bomb, there is the slimmest of hopes that Mr Adams can get his show back on the road. If another bomb goes off in London, we will know that he has been sidelined and that the militants are calling the shots. But the collapse of the

Republicans were ready to suspend judgment only if gains were evident

ceasefire finally exposed the inherent weaknesses in the Sinn Fein president's strategy. Republicans were prepared to suspend judgment so long as there appeared to be real gains, but as the months dragged into years the contradictions began to emerge into painful clarity. For beneath the sometimes brainless bravado of the retreat from old slogans like "Brits Out" and "End Partition" and their replacement with the jargon of "national self-determination" and "parity of esteem" — a consensus that was the reality of the deal which Mr Adams had struck with Albert Reynolds, the former Irish prime minister, who twisted the IRA's arm at the correct moment. The evidence is in black and white, because Mr Reynolds's former press secretary, Sean Duignan, has published his diaries of the period when the IRA was making its decisions. In January 1994, the taoiseach insisted: "I'm tell-

ing Sinn Fein that I won't bend on the simple principle that self-determination by the people of Ireland as a whole cannot be exercised without the agreement and consent of the majority of the people of Northern Ireland." Two months later he was convinced that the Sinn Fein president wanted to deliver on the Downing Street Declaration, but "I don't know whether he can actually deliver the IRA." By August Mr Reynolds boasts: "They (IRA) have nowhere to go. I've stripped away all their excuses, one by one. The IRA leadership is lying down the law. 'I've told them if they don't do this right they can shag off.' The surprise is that after 25 years of violence the leadership of the republican movement seemed prepared to settle for so little. The weakness may be that Mr Adams had not taken sufficient care to bring the rank and file with him. But the Unionists were not prepared to play by the rules of the man-negotiated truce and John Major was not in a strong enough position to coerce them to the table. In the end the republican movement's internal tensions proved too much. The IRA has gone back to war for all the wrong reasons, or for one overriding reason, the obsession with preventing a split. The old IRA leadership was unseated by Mr Adams's camp, including Martin McGuinness, because of a long ceasefire in the mid-1970s which nearly destroyed the movement. It has haunted them since. But they know that there can be no military solutions. Mr Adams insisted again yesterday that he and Sinn Fein remain committed to the peace strategy, but without the IRA's acquiescence it will not wash. There may be one tiny, bitter grain of consolation for the Sinn Fein president. Without the party, without the IRA, there can be no peace in Ireland or Britain and the two governments know that. Sooner or later, after possibly thousands more future deaths, the talking will have to begin all over again.

Ceasefire opposition started in November

The IRA

David Sharrock
Ireland Correspondent

ONLY the timing of the bomb that blasted the London Docklands came as a surprise to many in Ireland. Last November, senior republicans were predicting that the ceasefire would end very soon unless the Government moved to all-party talks involving Sinn Fein. The crisis was averted by the arrival of George Mitchell as Downing Street and Dublin agreed to consider his report with a "firm aim" of starting the talks by the end of this month. It is now clear that John Major's announcement that decisions were the way forward — on the day of the publication of Mr Mitchell's report, which rejected an arms handover before talks began — was the straw that broke the camel's back. Usually, the normally accessible and talkative Sinn Fein representatives went early quiet for 24 hours. It likely that at this stage the hard decisions were taken. While the view is taken that the IRA and Sinn Fein are part of the same entity, there have been conscious efforts to put distance between the republican movement's two wings since the ceasefire. Some newspapers reported that at the beginning of this year the Sinn Fein chief Martin McGuinness stood down voluntarily from the IRA's seven-member Army Council. Whether this was to make him a more credible Sinn Fein negotiator, or because the hardliners were gaining the upper hand is unknown. As Friday's bomb demonstrated, the inner workings of the IRA leadership are known only to itself. What is certain is that the decision to end the ceasefire

was taken by the Army Council, whose members are from all parts of Ireland, North and South. Once the decision had been made in principle, logistical and strategic planning would have been left to General Headquarters Staff, based in Dublin. GHQ Staff run a series of departments, including Quartermaster, Finance, Engineering, Intelligence, Publicity, Security Operations and Training. The England department is regarded as most important, and has evolved from the era of relatively crude, but none the less effective operations such as

was about to take place is therefore not surprising. IRA Southern Command taken in 21 counties of the Irish Republic. Its Dublin brigade and rural active service units work mainly in a quarter-mile capacity for Northern Ireland. The IRA leadership has been more sceptical about the merits of the ceasefire, a fact which prompted one senior republican to observe acutely last year that it was because they did not have to live with the direct consequences of life in the "war zone" — IRA Northern Command area of the six counties of Northern Ireland and the five border counties. The most vocal opposition to the ceasefire is believed to be based around south Armagh and Dundalk. As an army, the IRA did not require the absolute support of all its members for the August 31 1994 ceasefire declaration, although it is now clear that the Sinn Fein president, Gerry Adams, was coaxing a majority towards that route from as early as 1988. In the summer of 1994 an IRA briefing document was circulated, explaining the grounds for ceasing fire. "Republicans at this time and on their own do not have the strength to achieve the end goal," it read. "The struggle needs to be strengthened; most obviously from other nationalist constituencies led by SDLP, Dublin government and the emerging Irish-American lobby." Senior republicans last year warned that if the British government intended to secure the defeat of the IRA — which it had been incapable of achieving through military means — then the ceasefire would end. John Major's announcement that he would enable elections to take place in Northern Ireland was the final signal.

John Major's announcement on elections was the final straw

the bombing of Whitehall and the Old Bailey in 1978, which resulted in the imprisonment of Gerry Kelly, a Sinn Fein delegation member at last year's Stormont talks. In recent years the IRA has become adept at sending "sleepers" to Britain — volunteers with no police or security records, to blend in and await the call. The organisation's cell structure, introduced by Gerry Adams and others in the late 1970s, according to the security forces, ensures that volunteers called together to carry out a mission would not know one another. The possibility of information leaks is therefore all but ruled out. The construction of the 900lb Docklands bomb and its installation in a stolen vehicle near a prestige target may have taken less than two weeks to organise, with absolute secrecy at IRA leadership level. The fact that senior members of one of the IRA's two regional commands would not have known what

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OLIVER WORKS FOR A SUCCESSFUL COMPANY, WHICH GOT SUCCESSFUL BEFORE HE ARRIVED HE'S A "MIDDLE MANAGER", WITH ALL THE SENSE OF PURPOSE AND JOB SATISFACTION THAT GIVES (I.E. NOT A LOT.) HE STRUGGLES WITH ALL THE LATEST TECHNOLOGICAL STUFF — BECAUSE HE'S A HUMAN BEING, AND HIS HOBBIES INCLUDE FALLING IN LOVE WITH SOME OF THE WOMEN AT THE OFFICE (INCLUDING SASHA)

CLAIRE IS A BABY, WHO ACCOMPANIES OLIVER TO WORK FOR REASONS WHICH NOBODY REALLY UNDERSTANDS. (INCLUDING THE CARTOONIST), SHE CAN SEE THROUGH MOST OF THE ABSURDITIES OF CORPORATE CULTURE, BUT THEN AGAIN, KIDS ALWAYS CAN. SHE... FLOATS AROUND THE OFFICE.

THE BOSS IS SOMEONE WHO EXPRESSES HIS CREATIVITY THROUGH HIS DAILY CHOICE OF TIE, AND ONLY THROUGH THAT, HE WALKS AROUND WITH A FAT CIGAR ALMOST PERMANENTLY GLUED TO HIS HAND. (HE CAN DO THIS, BECAUSE HE IS THE BOSS.) HE LOVES GOLF. IT'S TRUE THAT THE BOSS IS TECHNOLOGICALLY CHALLENGED — BUT HE'S ASKED FOR SHORT SYNOPSIS OF SOME OF THE RELEVANT ARTICLES.

omb lorry

arkness



The dramatic aftermath of Friday's bomb at South Quay. Those assessing the damage say that although the buildings may look like skeletons with the windows blown out, their fabric may still be sound. PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID BULLIOTT

At 6.30pm, when Ishan heard about the security alert, he called his brother in Docklands and told him and his friend to clear out. Those were the last words they exchanged. Twenty two hours later, police found two bodies.

Dead friends mourned

The victims

Alex Bellis

INAN BASHIR was a well-known face to the hundreds of office workers who regularly used his newsagent's at South Quay, the scene of Friday's blast. Early evenings were always the busiest time, when he sold a fare of the London Evening Standard and snacks for commuters about to go home. Last Friday had started like any other: the morning trip up from Streatham in south London where Bashir, aged 29, lived with his parents. But Fridays being particularly hectic, he had asked his friend, John Jefferies, aged 31, to help out. Both Bashir and Jefferies were steeped in the newspaper trade. Bashir's elder brother, Ishan, runs another newsagent's in Fleet Street, on the edge of the City, where Jefferies used to have a pitch selling the Evening Standard. At 6.30pm, when Ishan heard about the security alert, he called his brother in Docklands and told the pair to clear out immediately. But those were the last words they exchanged. Once the bomb went off, members of both families rushed to the scene but were not allowed past police cordons. They were confused — police believed there had been no fatalities, yet Bashir and Jefferies were still missing.



Killed by the bomb: Inan Bashir (left) and John Jefferies

Jefferies' father, a retired carpenter also called John, said: "I went to Canary Wharf to see if he was on the list but he was not on any list of casualties and I didn't know what to think." Twenty two hours later, police found two bodies. It became clear the two men had not evacuated in time. The Bashirs were yesterday grieving at their home in Streatham. Ishan described his brother as "a lovely man" and Jefferies as "like a brother to me". Mr Jefferies was taken by police from the council house in Bromley where he lived with his son to stay with a friend. Neighbours said his son had been well-liked in the area, and was known for his passion for music. He had wanted to be a pop star and wrote his own songs, said his friend Terry Elliot, a



postman aged 47. "He wanted to be famous. You'd see him coming out of the house with his guitar on his back." Fred Florlock, a neighbour aged 78, said: "Father and son were a devoted pair and very close. John was a really nice young fellow, and his father would always speak kindly of him. As a child, he was a cracking young fellow — a friendly sort — and, as he grew up, he never lost that." Yesterday, five other victims were still in hospital. Zaoui Berrezag, aged 55, was in the intensive-care unit of the Royal London Hospital with serious face and skull injuries. His son Farid, aged 17, is recovering after two operations to remove shrapnel. The others were a woman aged 23 and a man aged 31, both with serious facial wounds, and a man aged 34 with head and back injuries.

Shattered showpiece counts the grim cost



Owen Bowcott and Pauline Spraggitt

THE VAN bomb which inflicted up to £150 million-worth of damage on the Isle of Dogs' prestigious South Quay business complex left a familiar toll of debris, mourning and confusion its wake yesterday. Parked glass-fronted vans congested local roads, police officers with grim faces warned off sightseers at the lines of security tape and, overhead, office blinds fluttered limply from bare window frames. What had been a waterside showpiece for 1980s-style free market enterprise stood utterly disfigured. Three blue, glass-plated office blocks on the quayside and a Midlands Bank building opposite the Docklands Light Railway station had borne the main impact of the blast. Most of the damage was caused by the direct force of the explosion, gouging out a deep crater and radiating shock waves. However, the pattern of destruction was uneven. In places, single windows were sucked out by the vacuum which followed the first pressure wave or pushed in by the

blast as it reflected off neighbouring buildings. Loss adjusters, the Association of British Insurers and the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) yesterday assessed the cost of the damage variously at between £90 million and £150 million. Liability will be borne by a special fund, Pool Re, established by the insurance industry to pay for terrorist damage in the aftermath of past IRA bombs in Bishopsgate and the City. If costs exceed reserves in the fund, the Government will be forced to cover extra expenses. The fund is presently understood to contain several hundred million pounds, and the Erchequer may avoid having to dig into its pockets. In advance of structural surveys, it was uncertain yesterday whether any of the buildings hit had been so badly damaged that they would have to be demolished. "With modern buildings it is quite difficult to tell how much damage has been caused," an LDDC spokeswoman said. "Though the buildings may look like skeletons with the windows blown out, the actual fabric may still be sound." However, compared to the chaos wreaked by the Bishopsgate bomb in 1993, the scale of the destruction at South Quay was far less. After that explosion — which ultimately cost £300 million — it was two and half years before Commercial Union could return to its premises. This time, the disruption has affected as many as 20 important companies, but the LDDC insists confidence in the long-term future of Canary Wharf and the Docklands has not been dented. "This is a setback, but it is

not going to stop us," the spokeswoman added. "I don't think the area will be any less robust. If Harrods bounced back, so can we." Casualties at South Quay could have been even greater if one of the largest office blocks damaged by the bomb had been occupied. The Wiggins building was awaiting commercial clients. The arcade of shops on South Piazza sustained the heaviest damage, but the blast even knocked out windows in the Credit Suisse building half-a-mile away. "My car's still down there," one frustrated office worker said as he waited at the security cordon. "There was just this massive explosion and I ran. My keys are in the office." Many families in the upper storeys of nearby tower blocks had their windows blown in. "We have had instances where glass has cut into the bed," Dennis Toomey, leader of Tower Hamlets council, said. "Hopefully no one will lose their homes, but flats near the top floors may have been very badly damaged. This will cost us hundreds of thousands of pounds — if not millions." In November 1992 an IRA attempt to bomb the Canary Wharf tower was thwarted by security guards, who challenged a transit van loaded with a similar bomb. By targeting Docklands, the IRA has adapted its strategy of inflicting damage on financial corporations. Standing at the white tape yesterday, Richard Tazmi surveyed the wreckage where his sandwich bar had once stood. "They've really put me out of business," he said. "I thought we'd seen the last of all this."

'At 7.01pm there was a noise like the door of a padded cell slamming, soft and vast. I went deaf' — Nancy Banks-Smith and her dog were near Canary Wharf when the bombers struck

Eyewitness

THE solid body of Otis the dog, put down as a supposed pit bull, was lying on the pavement outside Limehouse police station. A small bunch of us had gathered in woolly hats and the darkening damp to make a fuss about this. There was a rather ragged chorus of "shuddehars!" A small crowd from London Tonight were covering the story. It is the sort of job a junior reporter gets on a Friday night. The police had been slow to produce Otis's body. They said there was a bomb scare. We said that was a likely story. In retrospect everything — the body, the TV crew, the anger — seemed like a parody of what was to come. Eric and I went home on the Docklands Light Railway. Eric is my dog. From the little train, which winds overhead, the lights of the glass palaces are reflected in the darkness of the water. Very like Disneyland, where monsters from the black lagoon raise snakey heads as your little train passes. No monsters here. At Canary Wharf station we were told there was a security alert, and we should continue by bus. Canary Wharf looks like the opening titles for Dallas: a fountain, a skyscraper. The bus stop is solid glass. A dozen of us were waiting. There was a woman with a sheaf of Madonna lilies and a bunch of young lads trying to

get to the Arena. They had tickets for a basketball match, which started at 7pm. It was 7pm. Now. At 7.01pm there was a noise like the door of a padded cell slamming, soft and vast. I went deaf. A woman fell flat on the pavement, her bags of shopping spread out on either side like plastic wings. Eric collapsed. A fleet of black cabs, look off from their rank in perfect formation like bats out of hell. Their lights were on but they weren't picking up anybody. Everyone started to run and, as they ran, they all turned their heads and looked back at Canary Wharf Tower. I picked up Eric and ran after them. There were five engines, ambulances, police cars and a helicopter, but no buses. Mobile phones were out in force but public phones were dead. We all trudged like a column of refugees. It is about four miles round the Isle of Dogs. On TV Richard Gaisford, the young reporter who had been doggedly covering Otis, was now covering the bomb. London Tonight said they were the first crew on the spot. They didn't say why. My picture was full of snow because the cable company's dish had been knocked askew by the blast. Eric! He has started to run away. I found him yesterday, after hours of searching among shattered glass, with a film crew who were shooting Bugs. There is always a film crew shooting on the island. For one reason or another.

M15 was taken by surprise

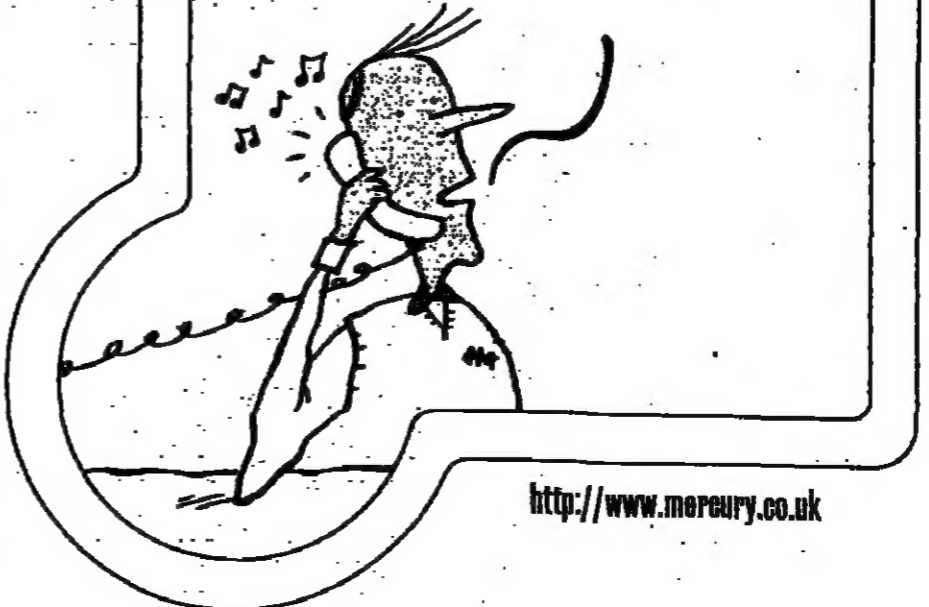
Intelligence

Duncan Campbell, Michael Morrison-Taylor and Owen Bowcott

WHEN he was appointed head of the Branch last December, Commander John Grievé quoted the Nobel Prize-winning Irish poet Seamus Heaney: "By its very nature, the atrocious is always with us." Yesterday, five other victims were still in hospital. Zaoui Berrezag, aged 55, was in the intensive-care unit of the Royal London Hospital with serious face and skull injuries. His son Farid, aged 17, is recovering after two operations to remove shrapnel. The others were a woman aged 23 and a man aged 31, both with serious facial wounds, and a man aged 34 with head and back injuries.

caught by surprise. Though it had stepped up surveillance of suspects on the mainland, it misjudged the IRA, and was over-optimistic about the chances of the ceasefire holding. M15 also continued to advise the influence of Gerry Adams, the Sinn Féin president, on the IRA was as strong as ever. Intelligence problems were compounded by the deaths of the most senior Special Branch, M15 and Army intelligence officers in a Chinook helicopter crash in Scotland in early 1994, and by the reduction of the Metropolitan Police anti-terrorist branch by one fifth. RUC sources claimed yesterday that M15 had ignored warnings in December from informants of an imminent breakdown in the ceasefire. They also claimed M15 had played down evidence of growing opposition to the ceasefire among sections of the IRA, including units in South Armagh and Tyrone. Friday's bomb showed that, despite more than 2,000 officers from both M15 and the police available for intelligence-gathering and infiltration, the security services have been unable to penetrate the higher levels of the IRA.

5 LATER... FOR SOME REASON, I SUDDENLY FANCY A PIZZA.



كشافة الصلح

Hamilton in new row on hospitality

Rebecca Smithers
Political Correspondent

NEIL Hamilton, the former corporate affairs minister, will this week be reported to the Commons ethics watchdog over allegations that he failed to declare thousands of pounds worth of free hospitality from a US tobacco company which he helped with a political campaign.

The allegations will further embarrass the Tories in the same week as publication of the Scott report dealing with government probity, and will undermine Mr Hamilton's attempt to become leader of the influential 1922 group of rightwing backbenchers.

Mr Hamilton was forced to resign in October 1994 at the height of a row about Tory sleaze. It was claimed that he accepted payments from the Harrods owner, Mohamed Al-Fayed, through the parliamentary lobbyist Ian Greer Associates, for asking questions in the Commons on Harrods' behalf.

Mr Hamilton, MP for Tatton, had also failed to declare a six-day visit to the luxurious Ritz hotel in Paris — also owned by Mr Al-Fayed — where he ran up a bill of more than £4,500.

Alex Carlile, the Liberal Democrat MP for Montgomery, plans to submit a complaint to the new parliamentary ombudsman, Sir Gordon Downey, by tomorrow, calling for him to investigate the new allegations.

They involve Mr Hamilton's free stays in the late 1980s at hotels in London and New York at the expense of US Tobacco, a company he was helping to try to overturn a proposed British ban of one

of its products Skool Benders, a chewing tobacco linked with cancer.

Last night Mr Carlile said he had been made aware of the allegations around the same time as the Sunday Times, which ran a story yesterday.

"It's not for me to judge the truth or falsity of these allegations," he said. "The position is that I was made aware of them and the Sunday Times has evidence in relation to them, which to me seems so serious that a careful adjudication of them is required."

It is understood that Mr Hamilton — who was not a minister at the time — approached several ministers to persuade them to overturn the proposed ban, including David Melfor, the then health minister, and foreign secretary Lord Howe.

Mr Carlile's complaint follows an investigation by the select committee on members' interests into Mr Hamilton's stay at the Ritz.

The Tory MPs on the committee strongly criticised Mr Hamilton for not declaring it, but have yet to report on the separate cash-to-questions allegations. His libel action against the Guardian was halted last year because the action conflicts with rules over parliamentary privilege.

The fresh allegations may do little to impress his fellow backbenchers, where he is currently canvassing support for the chairmanship of the 1922 group, challenging the incumbent, John Townend. Last night Mr Hamilton was not available for comment.

A Labour spokesman said: "In the week when the Scott report is published, it is highly embarrassing that a former minister is now under scrutiny for failing to declare hospitality."

Seaside projects from Fife to the Lizard combine in cash call for 'urgent investment'



Litterally urgent... Covehithe in Suffolk, where funds are sought for a coastal path to help protect the environment

PHOTOGRAPH: EMAMONN MCGABE

Lottery bid by resorts

James Melville
Community Affairs Editor

STRUGGLING seaside towns and the guardians of some of the country's best-loved beauty spots have combined to make a £20-million bid for National Lottery cash.

Multi-million pound schemes such as a "discovery centre" relaying television pictures of wildlife to visitors on the shore of Morcaran Bay are included with smaller projects like a marine museum celebrating the fishing industry in Beer, east Devon.

Landscaping on Lizard Point, Cornwall, cycle paths in Fife, Scotland, and a spruce-up for the village of Forthwithen, Gwynedd, are among 250 linked proposals seeking between £20,000 and £5 million to match privately raised funds.

Adele Biss, chairman of the English Tourist Board, said the package, the most geographically scattered bid so far made for Millennium funding, would increase public enjoyment of the shoreline and protect the environment.

"If future generations are to make the most of our splendid and diverse coast, urgent investment will be needed," she said.

Six winners won more than £1.5 million each as they shared Saturday's £9,294,294 National Lottery jackpot. The winning numbers were: 4, 11, 14, 16, 28 and 42, with the bonus ball 5.

Rail chief voices inquiries fear

Rebecca Smithers
Political Correspondent

THE Government's rail regulator has admitted that individual train operators are failing to deal quickly enough with passengers' telephone inquiries about rail services, amid growing fears that the companies will be unwilling to invest in a comprehensive national information scheme after privatisation.

Labour condemned the admission as more evidence of the damage being caused by the fragmentation of the network. It comes just days after the biggest setback yet for privatisation, when the Government was forced to cancel the transfer of the London, Tilbury and Southend franchise to its management team because of an alleged ticketing fraud.

John Swift QC, the government-appointed regulator responsible for ensuring fair competition on the privatised railway, reveals his fears about the existing system — based on British Rail's telephone inquiry bureaux — in a letter to Labour's transport spokesman, Brian Wilson, which he received this week.

"I am concerned at the difficulty being experienced in obtaining information over the telephone. A condition of every operator's licence is to have approved arrangements for a national telephone in-

quiry service. I approved a telephone inquiry bureau scheme in July last year. A key feature of that scheme is that it includes an obligation on operators to achieve quality of service, standards which, it has to be said, are not generally being achieved now in terms of the speed with which calls should be answered."

Mr Swift goes on to say that British Rail and the Association of Train Operating Companies are working on a project to expand and improve the existing service. But the individual companies taking over franchises do not have an obligation to participate.

"I will be doing whatever I can to facilitate successful implementation since I believe that easy access to national, impartial and accurate information is a key element in ensuring the continuation of key network benefits such as through-ticketing," Mr Swift wrote.

With little more than one-third of travel involving journeys with more than one train operator, it seems unlikely that private operators under commercial pressures will want to invest in a new national scheme.

While still a unified network, British Rail was responsible for both telephone inquiry bureaux and ticketing. But last autumn Railtrack had to reprint its timetable because of the huge number of errors it contained.

Murder appeal lawyers to say drug dealer need not have died

Duncan Campbell
Crime Correspondent

THE police force that investigated the Fred and Rose West case will come under scrutiny at the Court of Appeal today when a controversial murder conviction is challenged.

Lawyers for two men convicted of murder in Gloucester in January 1989, will argue that the dead man need never have died.

Gary Mills and Tony Poole were convicted at Bristol crown court in January 1990 of the murder of Hensley

"Willy" Wiltshire the previous year. In what was seen as a drugs sub-culture murder, Mills was alleged to have stabbed Wiltshire, a London drugs dealer, with a knife and struck him with a crowbar. Poole was said to have also stabbed him. Wiltshire died the following day.

At the trial, the defence argued that Mills had used the knife in self-defence and that Poole had not taken part in the fight. It was claimed that Wiltshire had gone for Mills with a knife. After the fight, Wiltshire was taken to hospital where he was uncooperative.

In what the defence suggest was an extraordinary sequence of events, he was then discharged into police custody because officers wanted to interview him on another matter. A police surgeon then had him transferred back to the hospital where he was said to be walking around unaided but then again released into police custody. His condition deteriorated in the police cell and he died 15 hours after the attack.

The case was taken up by the Channel 4 programme, Trial and Error, which re-investigated it. A documentary was broadcast in January

1994. Its investigation indicated that Wiltshire's injuries had not been life-threatening nor in the region of a vital organ. It also suggested, as had the defence at the trial, that a prosecution witness, Kim Stadden, was unreliable in that her story had changed. Leave to appeal was granted but it has taken the men a further two years for the case to be heard.

The case featured in the West trial because one of the chief prosecution witnesses against Mrs West was Kathryn Halliday who had had a six-month affair with Mrs West while living with Ms Stadden. Another link is that Detective Superintendent John Bennett led both inquiries.

In the appeal, it will be argued that Wiltshire need not have died. An American specialist, Don Drunkley, one of the world's leading experts on accident and emergency care, will be giving evidence about the treatment that Wiltshire should have received.

The case, which is expected to last four days, is significant in that it will put under scrutiny the methods of Gloucestershire police, who will strongly defend their actions. A Police Complaints Authority investigation cleared all the officers concerned.

It also raises the issue of the death of someone who, if treated in an appropriate way, might have recovered speedily.

Mills and Poole have been campaigning from prison — they are currently in Long Lartin jail in Worcestershire — for a number of years. Their case is one of a number that have the backing of campaign groups involved in alleged miscarriages of justice.

Yesterday a spokesman for their defence campaign said: "Neither Gary nor Tony were responsible for the death. There is new medical evidence to support their innocence."



Tony Poole (left) and Gary Mills... injured man discharged from hospital twice

Ministers warned on Scott report

Tory MPs insist guilty be punished, writes Richard Norton-Taylor

A LEADING Tory backbencher yesterday gave a fresh warning that individuals should be "chucked in the Thames" if they are found by the Scott report to have misled Parliament.

Sir Teddy Taylor, MP for Southend East, is among a group of Tory MPs who have warned ministers they cannot simply brush off the report if it clearly shows that ministers had behaved improperly.

His warning, on BBC Television's On The Record programme, comes as ministers and top civil servants gear themselves for an unprecedented back-passing exercise — with profound constitutional implications — in the face of Sir Richard Scott's long-awaited report into the arms-to-Iraq scandal, to be published on Thursday.

Tristan Garel-Jones, the former Foreign Office minister who signed public interest immunity certificates — so-called gagging orders — in the Matrix Churchill case, said yesterday that the report would be "inimical to the interests of the state".

"Damage will have been done to the standing of the public services with little or no contribution to the better governance of the kingdom," he wrote in the Sunday Telegraph.

Tony Blair, the Labour leader, said yesterday that after all the Government's "gloss and spin" there were only three questions that "stand out like beacons demanding to be answered": were the guidelines on arms exports to Iraq changed? were Parliament and the public misled? and did the Govern-

ment have information which showed beyond doubt that the Matrix Churchill trial should not have proceeded?

The act would state that civil servants owed their duty to the "public interest" rather than merely serving ministers of the day.

"A Civil Service Act would stop civil servants being the property of ministers — it would enable us to feel sure their ultimate loyalty was to democracy and not to the government of the day," said Andrew Puddaehat, Charter 88's director.

The 1,600-page Scott report is expected to be a damning indictment of Whitehall conduct and its culture of secrecy, and will almost certainly conclude that MPs were repeatedly misled over the Government's policy towards Iraq.

It names senior civil servants in the Department of Trade and Industry, the Foreign Office, and the Ministry of Defence, as well as officials in Customs and Excise and the Treasury Solicitor's Department who handled the prosecution of three former directors of the Matrix Churchill machine tool company.

The Government is expected to place the blame on inadequacies in "the system", avoiding the central issue of who was responsible. Senior civil servants say this sidesteps the principle of ministerial responsibility to Parliament.

Prisoners hold officer hostage

Angella Johnson

A PRISON officer was being held hostage at the top-security Whitemoor jail last night, the prison service said.

The male officer was not identified. Whitemoor is a Category A prison in Cambridgeshire, and was the scene of an IRA break-out two years ago.

Thirty police officers, prison officers in riot gear, and firefighters were on standby. A prison service spokesman said the officer had been taken hostage at about midday and trained negotiators were at the jail.

The identity of the inmates involved was not released, but they were not from the special security unit which houses several IRA prisoners. Prison officers could not confirm whether anyone had been hurt.

Whitemoor houses some of the country's most dangerous criminals and suffered a number of high-profile embarrass-

ing incidents in recent years.

In 1994, a security officer at the jail was shot during an escape by six prisoners, five of them IRA men serving up to 30 years for their parts in terrorist campaigns.

They were recaptured shortly afterwards. Weeks ago, a massive search at Whitemoor uncovered two duplicate key patterns to prison doors, designed for use in an escape.

Last year, IRA prisoners staged a "dirty protest", spending weeks in cells smeared with excrement and wearing only blankets in an attempt to force the Government to transfer them to prisons in the Irish Republic.

The prison service denied that inmates were refusing to return to their cells. "Extra officers have been drafted in and the majority of the prison is calm and under control."

The police operation was being headed by Chief Superintendent Richard Cannell, who was inside and thought to be working with the negotiating team.

Bypass march claims protest record

Alex Bellon

ABOUT 5,000 people marched along part of the route of the proposed Newbury bypass yesterday. In what environmentalists claim was the largest ever single demonstration against road-building in Britain.

Friends of the Earth, which advertised the rally on the front pages of national newspapers, organised at least 40 coaches from all around the country and arranged a shuttle service from Newbury rail station.

Demonstrators carried placards with slogans such

as Stop the Road, Save the Trees, and Local People Against The Road as they walked two miles from Snelmore Common, site of the largest protesters' camp, to Bagnor.

Tony Juniper, deputy campaign director, said: "It was a huge success. The cross-section of people was incredible. There were locals and non locals, and people of all ages. It is the largest demonstration we have organised in recent years."

A Thames Valley Police spokesman said the protest was peaceful and there were no arrests.

The march was organised to keep up the pressure on

the Government to abandon the 9½ mile road, which is due to take more than two years to complete. The building company now at work is only contracted to clear the route, and the Highways Agency will announce who is to build the road itself in the next few months.

The protest is predicted to reach a flashpoint this week when bailiffs are sent in to evict people living in treehouses on the route.

A High Court order was given to Nick Handy, Sheriff of Berkshire, last month but it has taken him several weeks to organise the bailiffs, who include a team of tree climbers. Like the

protesters, the climbers are veterans of previous road protests, and several on each side know each other.

Protesters believe the bailiffs could move in any day now, and are securing their treehouses as well as roping up walkways between trees. There is an appeal against the High Court order.

After yesterday's "official" rally, other protesters have declared today an unofficial "day of action" and hope to bus in a few hundred people to try to stop the tree-felling. It is believed they aim to provoke mass arrests for aggravated trespass under the Criminal Justice Act.

Youth who said no to drugs critical after drink 'spiked'

Gary Youngs

A YOUTH who told his friends to say no to drug pushers in an hotel was in a critical condition in a mental hospital yesterday after the dealers apparently spiked his drink.

James Fountain, aged 16, was celebrating the end of his mock GCSE exams at a hotel party in Sedgfield, County Durham, when he advised his friends, from the Yarm public school in Teesside, to refuse the offer. In revenge the drug pushers slipped crushed pills into his glass of lemonade, which were believed to contain either LSD or Ecstasy.

Yesterday, eight days after

the event, James was said to be "drifting in and out of consciousness and unable to string more than two sentences together".

A spokesman for St Lukes Psychiatric Hospital, Middlesbrough, said James's condition was not life-threatening.

When James arrived home in Hartlepool, Cleveland, his parents had thought he was drunk. It was only after he was taken to hospital in agony that they took him to the Hartlepool general hospital. He was later transferred to St Luke's.

On Friday police raided the hotel and arrested six men, seizing cannabis and weapons including a CS gas canister and an imitation gun.

World news in brief

Two car bombs shatter Algiers

A CAR BOMB killed at least 17 people and wounded 63 yesterday in the centre of Algiers. It was the second bomb in the Algerian capital yesterday and exploded in the Belcourt district, the security forces said in a statement carried by the Algerian news agency, APS. The first bomb, in the Bab El-Oued district, wounded 41 people, officials said. One eyewitness said a bus was passing when the second bomb exploded outside the offices of the newspaper Le Soir d'Algérie. "There are a lot of casualties," the eyewitness said. The paper's offices are in a centre known as La Maison de la Presse, along with the offices of other big newspapers, including El Watan and Al Khabar. The dead included at least one journalist and one newspaper employee, journalists said. "A journalist working for Le Soir d'Algérie and a technician were among those killed," one journalist said. He added that he and colleagues saw the bodies of the two men. The statement from the security forces said the bomb, which exploded at 3pm, caused serious damage. Earlier yesterday, at about 8.15am, a car bomb destroyed the town hall in Bab El-Oued, a crowded working-class district and a fundamentalist Muslim bastion. Forty-one people were wounded, six seriously, according to the latest official toll. Algerian authorities have blamed a series of bombings - which in the past week now total four - on Muslim militants fighting to topple the government. - Reuters, Paris.

Meningitis sweeps Nigeria

AN OUTBREAK of meningitis has killed at least 465 people in northern Nigeria, health officials said at the weekend. About 275 people have died in the state of Kano and another 1,000 are undergoing treatment. In the neighbouring state of Katsina, on the northern border with Niger, at least 190 are confirmed dead and 800 people are infected. The government has sent huge quantities of vaccinations to the north, state-run television said. Health officials blame infected drinking water for the spread of the bacteria that causes fever, brain swelling and death, unless treated quickly with antibiotics. Hajiva Nafsat Kabir, Kano's health commissioner, said she feared hundreds more would die if the government and aid organisations did not help. - AP, Lagos.

India ready for Kashmir talks

THE INDIAN government said yesterday it was prepared to hold talks with former Kashmiri guerrillas to try to end a six-year uprising against Indian rule in Kashmir. "We are prepared to discuss this," K. Padmanabhaiah, the interior minister, said. He was responding to a surprise offer last Thursday by four former militants who had been released from jail to hold talks with New Delhi without the participation of Pakistan. The All Parties Hurriyat (Freedom) Conference, representing more than 30 leading separatist groups in the Kashmir valley, quickly denounced the offer as Indian agents. The Hurriyat suffered another setback at the weekend when Master Ahsan Dar, a founder of the pro-Pakistan Hizb-ul-Mujahideen group now in an Indian jail, supported the offer to hold negotiations with the government. - Reuters, New Delhi.

Peres announces early poll

ISRAEL faces more than three months of bitter politicking over the Middle East peace process, after last night's announcement by Shimon Peres, the prime minister, of early general elections. "I have reached a decision to hold early elections as soon as the law allows," he said. He is thought to favour May 28, but a specific date has yet to be announced. The decision had been widely predicted, with Mr Peres and the ruling Labour-led coalition galloping ahead of the opposition in opinion polls. The polls also suggest that Mr Peres has a lead of up to 20 per cent over his main prime ministerial rival, Benjamin Netanyahu of the Likud party. This year, for the first time, Israelis will be voting not only for the party of their choice in national list-based elections, but also directly for the prime minister. The government wants to increase its wider-than majority in the Knesset (parliament) before two key peace moves, which are likely to become the main election issues. - Derek Brown, Jerusalem.

Saudi visit 'cements ties'

KING HUSSEIN of Jordan, hoping for a rapprochement with his former financial backers, arrived in Saudi Arabia yesterday on his first official visit since relations soured during the 1990-91 Gulf crisis. "Our relations with Saudi Arabia are normal and this visit will consolidate bilateral ties for the benefit of the two brotherly countries," King Hussein said in the Jordanian capital Amman before his departure. He was greeted in the Red Sea port of Jeddah by Prince Saud al-Faisal, Saudi Arabia's foreign minister, and Prince Majeed, the governor of the province of Mecca. King Hussein is to visit Islamic shrines in Mecca and perform a pilgrimage known as umra, before returning to Jeddah for talks with senior officials. But expectations that he would meet King Fahd were apparently dashed. - AP, Jeddah.



TAAMA Iwamoto, mother of the driver of a bus trapped in a collapsed tunnel on the northern Japanese island of Hokkaido, brushes away a tear yesterday as hopes of finding more survivors faded. Residents of the tiny fishing town of Furubira waited for rescuers to make a second attempt to dislodge a huge rock slab that crushed a highway tunnel and a bus inside on Saturday morning trapping 20 people. An earlier effort to topple the boulder into the sea with 550lb of dynamite failed. Anguished relatives kept a vigil as snow swirled around the tunnel entrance and the temperature dropped to -3C. - AP, Furubira.

Beverly Hills cops sued

WHEN Eddie Murphy made the Beverly Hills Cop films it was the only time the city's police had welcomed a black man, say seven blacks who are suing the wealthy enclave in Los Angeles. They allege Beverly Hills police have a secret "keep out" policy under which visiting blacks are followed, harassed and wrongly apprehended. A former mayor, Robert Tannenbaum, is representing the plaintiffs - to the embarrassment of the 33,000 residents of the 5 square mile metropolitan area with the world's most Rolls Royces per capita. One plaintiff is Pat Earthly, aged 29, a church sexton who has no police record. He says his car has been stopped and searched eight times, that he was forced to lie handcuffed on the floor, and that once a gun was put to his head. Five of the other six plaintiffs are teenagers and one is a businessman. One, aged 17, says he has been stopped 20 times in 18 months without charge. The businessman, Richard Hill, aged 63, says he was pulled over while driving to meet his wife for lunch. Police took him to an underground car park, frisked him, and "violently jerked" him by the groin. "It makes me nervous just to be in that area," he says. The police force, which has six black out of 132 officers, has produced statistics showing 88 per cent of traffic tickets going to whites, and only 12 per cent to blacks. Blacks say the figures are misleading precisely because they are stopped without receiving tickets. - Christopher Reed, Los Angeles.

Moscow aims to be first to cash in with £6.5bn projects as talks resume over lifting of UN sanctions

'Giant' Iraq-Russia oil deal

David Hearst in Moscow

RUSSIA has signed agreements for a number of "giant" projects to extract crude oil and help Iraq, which remains subject to United Nations economic sanctions, to rebuild its shattered power industry, Baghdad newspapers reported yesterday. The reports said the deal had been signed on Friday in Moscow after a series of meetings between the Iraqi first deputy industry and mines minister, Qatam al-Anbaki, and Russia's fuel and energy minister, Yuri Shafraenk. However, the agreement was signed only at the level of officials, rather than ministers. While not denying that a "protocol" had been signed, Russian officials refused yesterday to elaborate on the deal's size. Some sources said it could be worth \$10 billion (\$6.5 billion) to Russia. The reported arrangement will put further pressure on UN negotiators who resume talks today in New York with Iraqi officials on the issue of lifting sanctions. The implementation of Security Council Resolution 986 would allow Baghdad to sell oil worth \$2 billion (£1.3 billion) over six months to pay for urgently needed food and medical supplies. Russia and the US disagree on when UN sanctions should be lifted. Washington insists Iraq fulfil other UN resolutions, stop its repression of the Shi'ite minority and release some 680 Kuwaitis who disappeared during the Gulf crisis. After two days of talks in Helsinki at the weekend with his Russian counterpart, the US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, said Yevgeny Primakov had given him an assurance that the oil deal would only go ahead after the UN had lifted sanctions on Iraq. Mr Christopher said: "My

understanding is that that contract... is explicitly contingent on Iraq satisfying the UN resolutions and being out from under the oil sanctions." But Mr Primakov, a Middle East specialist, is known to have kept close contacts with the Iraqi president, Saddam Hussein, after trying unsuccessfully to mediate between the West and Baghdad as a special envoy in the run-up to the Gulf war in 1991. When Mr Primakov recently replaced the pro-Western Andrei Kozyrev as Russian foreign minister, former US secretary of state James Baker described Mr Primakov's role in that period as "unhelpful". The Iraqi oil deal is the first sign of Russia's emerging policy to boost its political and trade links with its former client Arab states. Russia has confirmed a separate deal with Baghdad to train Iraqi oil experts at the Russian Gubkin Oil and Gas Academy and to send Russian petrochemical specialists to Iraq. Iraq is determined to give Russian oil firms preferential treatment once the UN lifts its sanctions. After the Helsinki talks, Mr Primakov insisted there was "no basis" to consider that the Russian-US relationship was in crisis. He said the meeting was "very fruitful". As Americans like to say, it was a very businesslike meeting. He went on: "We have differences and there will be differences, but all this must be resolved without confrontation. That would be extremely dangerous for our mutual relations and also for the whole world." Mr Christopher said their relationship had got off to a good start, professing himself pleasantly surprised by "the attitudes of openness he brought, and the willingness to recognise differences and manage them". But despite the diplomatic words, Mr Christopher knows he faces a much tougher interlocutor in Mr Primakov, than he had previously in Mr Kozyrev.



Zhirinovskiy plays to the cameras and uses silver wedding ceremony to bless his presidential campaign

Alastair Macdonald in Moscow THE ultra-nationalist leader, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, played a latter-day star for the television cameras yesterday, launching his presidential campaign by holding a silver wedding ceremony with his wife (above) at a Moscow church and throwing money to the poor. But the "sea of vodka" his aides had promised for thousands of Moscow's homeless seemed barely enough to fill a bathtub and

the curious onlookers at the Church of St Michael the Archangel numbered only a few hundred. Television crews almost outnumbered well-wishers inside the church as Mr Zhirinovskiy and his wife Galina, dressed in white, went through the ritual of a Russian Orthodox marriage. Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of the French National Front, was guest of honour - the ceremony was snubbed by Russian celebrities and the Moscow diplomatic corps. Mr Le Pen, who launched

an appeal with Mr Zhirinovskiy on Saturday for a union of European right-wingers, was among the first to kiss the couple after they were blessed by a priest. "Today's ceremony is certainly a family celebration. But it is also a religious and spiritual gesture and a political one, since Vladimir is a candidate for the presidency of Russia," Mr Le Pen told the crowd outside, before departing in a limousine with a woman singer in traditional peasant costume. Mr Zhirinovskiy and his wife arrived at the church

in a troika drawn by white horses, and dispensed money to the crowd. The ceremony seemed designed to steal the limelight from President Boris Yeltsin and Gennady Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party, who are both set to declare their presidential candidacies this week. The only representatives of Moscow's homeless appeared to be three men at the church door who told journalists that Mr Zhirinovskiy had done a lot for the poor. He and his aides threw handfuls of 500-rouble notes and coins, sending

children scrambling in the snow. "What's 500 roubles? Small change. Who wants that?" scoffed Yekaterina Evshenina, a pensioner who lives in one of the high-rise blocks near the church. She said she had voted for Mr Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party in December's parliamentary election, when it came second with 11 per cent of votes. "But Zhirinovskiy's much too unpredictable to be president. I'll vote for Zyuganov on June 16," she added. - Reuters. PHOTOGRAPH: DMITRY KOFOTAYEV

France woos discerning British

The strong franc discourages visitors, but a new promotion plan has been launched, Alex Duval Smith reports from Paris

BRITISH "strivers" and "potterers" are to be the target of the biggest-ever campaign to promote France after they turned their backs in droves on cross-channel holidays last year. In poster and television advertising campaigns, French tourism officials are spending \$2 million to promote their country to the British who, with 9 million visits a year, are the most francophile country in the world. The decision to spend 60 per cent more than last year on wooing Britons is aimed at improving France's image, tarnished by nuclear tests, a terrorist bombing campaign and strikes which paralysed the country at the end of last year. Tourism officials estimate that 15 per cent fewer Britons travelled to France in 1995. Officially, they say France suffered because the strength of the franc lured Britons to cheaper destinations like the US, Spain and Italy. But, 10 days ago, barely half an hour before President Jacques Chirac announced the end of France's underground nuclear test series in the South Pacific, British television viewers received the first blast of a \$1.2 million series of commercials. According to a spokesman for Maison de la France, the tourism promotion body, France has rested on its laurels for too long. "Short trips increased in 1995, which is

probably thanks to the Eurostar, but the number of holidays which lasted for more than five days declined. France has long been lazy about promoting itself," he said. Yet tourism is one of the country's main commodities; France is the world's number one tourist destination, with 60 million visits a year. Britain provides the largest number of tourists, followed by Germany and the Benelux countries. To focus the tourism cam-

reasons for visiting it are the food, the wine, and the chateaux. Britons who had not visited France perceived it as expensive and uninteresting and said they believed contact with the local population would be difficult. A disproportionate number of Britons who did visit France were categorised as "strivers" - ABs, aged between 35 and 55, who "like the good life and the perceived authenticity" of France. The second-largest group were the less well-off and older "potter-

Defiant Karadzic starts comeback

group travel, at least in coming to France. It adds: "The Briton, while coming from a homogenous and conventional society, has a pronounced taste for authenticity because it flatters his taste for individualism."

Tourism promoters have therefore identified areas in which France could do better. One is naturism - a market most attractive to Germans, 45 per cent of whom say they like to bathe naked. Even though the British are more prudish - only 9 per cent wish to strip off - naturism is an expanding market, says the report. Britons are Europe's top anglers, with 4.8 million owning back, says the report. Boosting promotion of this leisure activity would increase visits by 25 to 54-year-olds from "more modest backgrounds", it says. Britons are also said to be keen on theme parks, but less so than the Germans or Spanish "because they have a good selection at home". In 1993, Disneyland-Paris was the most popular theme park, with 15.9 million visitors. Yesterday, at the Bastille, Stéphanie Lecoustey's bureau de change was quiet. She was offering 7.10 francs to the pound. "I change more US dollars than any other currency but that is because people from around the world carry them," she said. "There has definitely been a decline in the number of people bringing me sterling. But there has been an increase in the number of French people buying pounds. That is why I can sell sterling at 8.10."

Julian Borger in Banja Luka BOSNIAN SERB leader, Radovan Karadzic, the indicted for war crimes by the United Nations tribunal, demonstrated at the weekend that he was still a force to be reckoned with, by making a high-profile tour of his territory intended to suppress Serb dissent. After two months of virtual silence since the December signing of the Dayton peace accord, which Mr Karadzic bitterly opposed, the former psychiatrist appears to be engineering a political comeback built on Serb anger at the Bosnian government's arrest of senior Serb officers. Mr Karadzic looked confident as he swept into Banja Luka, the biggest city under Bosnian Serb control. Under the Dayton agreement, indicted war criminals are banned from standing for political office and must be handed over to the UN tribunal in The Hague. But Mr Karadzic made it clear that he had no intention of facing the international court, describing it as an attempt "to lynch the whole nation". His tour of Banja Luka and appearance on a television show called "Ask the President" appeared to mark the launch of an election campaign. He told Serb viewers that foreign attempts to manipulate the elections "would break their teeth on the Serbian people", and compared

himself to the Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat. He described the Dayton agreement as a first step towards full independence, although the accord rules out Serb secession. He derided Serb politicians who favour closer links with the Muslim-Croat Federation. Prominent Serbs in Banja Luka, including the mayor, Predrag Radic, had openly defied Mr Karadzic's leadership since the Dayton accord. But at a weekend congress of the ruling Serb Democratic Party (SDS), Mr Karadzic threatened Mr Radic with expulsion and banned him from meeting foreign envoys. He also installed loyalists in key party positions in Banja Luka and nearby Prijedor. Banja Luka politicians attributed his comeback to fury among Serbs about the arrest of eight Serb soldiers by government forces near Sarajevo in the last two weeks. The crisis over the arrests appeared to ease slightly at the weekend. The government released four Serb soldiers, and the Bosnian Serbs announced the renewal of military contacts with I-F. But the Serbs refused to meet the Bosnian government, in contravention of Dayton. Richard Holbrooke, the US envoy who brokered the Dayton accord, flew to Sarajevo yesterday to warn all sides to stick to the deal. He was due to fly on to Belgrade to press the Serbian president, Slobodan Milosevic, to bring the Bosnian Serbs back into line.

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The Guardian Monday February 12 1996

Race for second place opens up as Forbes falters

Battered Dole set for victory in Iowa

Jonathan Freedland in Des Moines, Iowa

BOB DOLE looked set to boost his battered presidential campaign with a victory in tonight's presidential contest in Iowa, but the race for the coveted second place was as wide open as the flat, farm state itself.

As the Iowa battle intensified, with allegations of smears, counter-smears and dirty tricks, all sides were predicting a Dole victory yesterday. The Senate majority leader's previous chief challenger, the millionaire publisher Steve Forbes, hit a barrage of criticism and a marked slowdown in support, while the former television commentator Pat Buchanan and ex-governor of Tennessee Lamar Alexander each claimed a late surge was set to make them the runner-up.

Latest polls put Mr Dole in front with 28 per cent of Republican voters, compared to 16 per cent for Mr Forbes and 11 per cent for Mr Buchanan. But tracking polls show Mr Forbes falling, while Mr Buchanan's support is rising. One survey put him in second place, one point ahead of Mr Dole.

For Mr Dole, a victory will represent a much-needed boost after a wounding three

weeks in which party officials began to doubt his viability. Stung by criticism for a dire performance during the Republican response to President Clinton's State of the Union address last month, Mr Dole has been further hit by a blitzkrieg of negative advertising from Mr Forbes.

Mr Dole's ratings plummeted as Mr Forbes outspent all his rivals on television commercials branding Mr Dole a typical "Washington insider".

But now Iowans appear to be rebelling against Mr Forbes's negative campaigning and returning to a politician whose links to Iowa go back 25 years. One poll showed 48 per cent of Iowa voters with an unfavourable view of Mr Forbes, up from just 20 per cent in December.

Mr Forbes appeared to add to his woes yesterday, when he accused the Dole campaign of making anonymous phone calls to potential supporters in an attempt to smear his name.

He said a Utah telephone sales firm had been calling Iowans posing as independent pollsters, asking pseudo-questions about Mr Forbes's "support" for abortion and gay rights. The technique, known as a "push poll" is aimed at spreading rumours about an opponent.

Even though a former em-

ployee of the firm confirmed that he had made the anti-Forbes calls, the accusation seems to have backfired. "That's like Colonel Sanders complaining about cruelty to animals," said Mr Alexander. "Steve Forbes is just reaping what he sowed."

Mr Dole's aides believed their candidate's support was strengthening in part because of previously undecided voters — estimated at one in five of Iowa Republicans — are moving to him, a tried and tested figure they know well.

Hailing from neighbouring Kansas, Mr Dole has been dubbed President of Iowa for his connections to the state. He won here handsomely in his 1988 presidential bid.

The focus instead is on the runner-up slot. Mr Buchanan is gaining ground among Christian conservatives, who could form as much as half of tonight's electorate. Yesterday's poll found him with 24 per cent of evangelical support — more than any other candidate. That could translate into even bigger numbers tonight, since Iowa votes through a system of "caucuses" in 2,425 precincts.

Since only committed activists are likely to attend a meeting on a chilly Monday night, conviction voters like those of the Christian Coalition have a disproportionately large influence.

Republicans vie for deals with state's 'little guys'

Jonathan Freedland in Indianapolis, Iowa

"You work all your life to build something up, and then they take it away," Duane said. Corporations are driving "little guys" like him out of business.

His pride and joy is a red shiny combine-harvester. New, it would cost \$140,000. "That's why the young guys can't start up in agriculture," he said. "If we can't do something to keep the young fellas on the land, the big corporations will take over and cheap food will be gone forever."

It's already happening in Iowa, the third biggest farm state in the US. Giant agri-businesses are eating up the patches of flat, bleak Iowa land that once were family homes. Now the state is dotted with silos

and feeders — with not a farmhouse in sight.

The problem is that the mega-producers can weather the caprices of nature in a way that independent farmers cannot. If the corn prices fall, only the corporate producers can hold on until it goes up again.

The pressure of competition has taken its toll. "Farmers are proud people," said Roger. "Somebody's Mother Nature gets you in a jam. You invest so much, and can end up with nothing. There's a lot of stress."

That's why old man Woodruff agreed to host a rally for presidential candidate Bob Dole in his barn on Saturday. "He was born and raised on a farm. He understands what it takes to make one operate."

All the candidates competing in tonight's contest for Iowa's Republican votes have tried to appeal to farmers' concerns. Mr Dole, the Senate majority leader, passed the Freedom to Farm bill last week — a measure which will wean farmers off government subsidy programmes within seven years, releasing them from strict planting quotas but guaranteeing prices until then. He snookered his rival, Senator Phil Gramm of Texas, by holding the vote when Mr Gramm was absent.

But the Woodruffs have concerns not treatable with laws and regulations. They fear the encroachment of city types moving out of the suburbs.

There is, too, a larger sense that farmers have lost their cherished place in the national imagination. Mr Dole taps into this when addressing Iowa audiences.

A couple of hours north of Indianapolis, in Story City, the Woodruffs have been talking into this when addressing Iowa audiences.

But the biggest worry is the farming conglomerates. A couple of hours north of Indianapolis, in Story City, the Woodruffs have been talking into this when addressing Iowa audiences.

Behind the lines

ELECTION USA

THEY dress like twins, even though they're father and son. They wear farmers' jeans — denim and bluer than the type city-folk wear — for working, not looking good. They have baseball caps on their heads, and cowboy boots on their feet, muddy from the soft, Iowa earth.

They are the Woodruffs, fourth and fifth generation farmers, growing corn and soy beans in Indianapolis, Iowa, just as they've always done. Roger, aged 42, drives a pick-up truck; in the back is a coyote that's been dead for three days. He hunts them "for sport," he says, but he can usually get \$4 (\$2.60) for the fur. His father, Duane, is 71 and has never left the United States. He went to New York once, in 1963, and to Washington twice, when Eisenhower was president.

Their lives seem little changed from those of the mid-Western farmers of old. The barns have roofs shaped in the classic prairie style, like droopy arches; their wives cook big farmhouse breakfasts; they fear the snow and hail that come each winter.

But now they, like farmers across America, have a newer enemy, one which they say erases not only their way of life, but the environment and consumers throughout the world. The enemy is big business.

Farmers have lost their cherished place in America's imagination

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Earning his bread... Lee Sung-wen shows off his small dough figures of the country's four presidential candidates in the Taiwan capital Taipei yesterday. The figure of President Lee Teng-hui, left, costs about £2.50. PHOTOGRAPH: EDGE SHAW

Jackson video divides image-conscious Rio

Diane Jean Schemo and Gary Richman report from the singer's They Don't Care About Us shoot in the Santa Marta slum

POP superstar Michael Jackson and film director Spike Lee began filming a music video in a Rio slum yesterday after a judge blocked attempts by local politicians to stop them. Critics had feared the video could damage the city's image.

"Thanks to Michael Jackson, our slum is now on the map," said Jose Luis de Oliveira, aged 30, president of the Santa Marta Residents Association. "His visit here makes a world of difference."

Rio's Santa Marta is a no picture postcard. Raw sewage runs down the hills, sending nauseating odours through the neighbourhood. Drug dealers stand at checkpoints along winding alleys.

This is the favela, or hillside slum, that Jackson will use as a backdrop for his video, *They Don't Care About Us*. He has already shot some footage in the north-eastern city of Salvador.

The knowledge that the poverty here will be used as an image of urban misery has sparked an emotional debate dividing the city.

The future began two weeks ago, when word filtered out that Jackson would descend by helicopter on one of Rio's slums to film his video. It was at roughly the same

time that the singer *Madonna* was sparking protest in Argentina over plans to have her portray Eva Peron.

Ronaldo Cesar Coelho, the state secretary for industry, commerce and tourism, complained that such a video would damage the city's image, and reportedly said he would demand editing rights.

"I don't see why we should have to facilitate films that will contribute nothing to all our efforts to rehabilitate Rio's image," Mr Coelho told newspapers here.

Governor Marcello Alencar said the favela should charge Jackson for the right to film and offered the residents legal help.

Pelé, the former football superstar who is now minister of sport, complained that the filming would hinder Rio's campaign to bring the Olympics here in 2004.

A few days later, a lawyer went to court to try to prevent the filming, and a judge issued an injunction.

Spike Lee, who is directing the video, called Brazil a "banana republic" for what he described as a flurry of half-baked efforts to prevent the filming, aggravating the sense of injured pride among some public officials.

Then, earlier this week, a

higher court ruled Jackson could come after all and film as he wishes. On Friday the gloved one arrived in Rio, sporting a black mask over his nose and mouth to protect him against an outbreak of conjunctivitis sweeping the city.

Though many of the people who opposed the filming said they were only trying to protect the image of this favela, residents are sceptical.

Lee shot scenes of the maze-like jumble of shacks and twisting alleys, the streams of sewage and toddlers bathing in the dirty water. The favela's steep slopes also offer breathtaking views of Corcovado's Christ statue, the Sugar Loaf and the Lagoon.

The residents of Santa Marta seem to be fairly crackling with the excitement of the project.

Mr de Oliveira said he was all for the video. Children were making up a song and drawing posters to welcome Jackson, he said.

"I think his coming will make things better," said Sandra Gomez de Barros. "They're ashamed of the conditions here, and they'll have to do something."

"Everybody's suddenly paying attention to Santa Marta, talking about the social, sanitary and other conditions here," Milton de Souza Filho, who runs two samba schools, said. "It's a poor world surrounded by a rich world, an island of misery surrounded by wealth." — New York Times/AP.

Pope finds spirits low in Venezuela

Phil Gunson in Caracas

IT WAS dusk, and large bats were flitting among trees along the Avenida Francisco de Miranda, before the faithful were rewarded, 45 minutes behind schedule, with a glimpse of God's representative on earth.

Seated in his locally built Toyota popemobile, the 75-year-old pontiff looked weary as the motorcade swept briskly past on its way to the presidential residence. It was his fourth country in as many days.

A couple of rows back from the joyful flag-wavers, teacher Isabel Gutierrez was unimpressed. "It's a waste of time and money," she said. "The Pope will be gone in three days, but there'll still be crime and hunger in Venezuela and wages will still be too low. There'll be no change in that unless we have a general election."

The billboards beside the Caracas freeways say simply: "God have pity on us." It is, perhaps, the only sentiment that unites the pro- and anti-papal visit factions in a country where the prosperous, oil-bum days are long gone and violent street protests occur almost daily.

"They're only showing him the pretty side of things," said

Ludví Vázquez, a social worker in her thirties who works in a poor neighbourhood. "Why don't they take him to see the real Caracas, where the workers live?"

The cost of the three-day visit has been put by some sources as high as \$48 million (\$31 million). The Church and the government say only \$1 million has been spent. To many Venezuelans, any expenditure looks excessive.

Even among the most enthusiastic spectators some believe a message of "peace and love" is not enough.

Raisa Colina, who works for an estate agent, thinks President Rafael Caldera should emulate Papp's Presidential Fulbright and close down Congress. "We need strong government — an end to corruption. Everything is collapsing around us."

Since 1989, when hundreds died in food riots, through two coup attempts in 1992 and the impeachment of a president on corruption charges, Venezuelans have been hit by one disaster after another.

The Pope made clear his concern at the country's "faith of values" and the "lack of faith in institutions". He called on politicians to show "particular concern for the needy" and give "clear proof of honesty in personal and professional life."

But as the papal jet took off yesterday, it was the demands of the IMF, as much as those of the Vatican, that must have been on the president's mind.

Clashes escalate as opposition boycott makes farce of Bangladeshi elections

Suzanne Goldenberg in Dhaka

DESPITE the protestations of the government, there are few signs that Bangladesh is entering the last days of an election campaign.

In a country where elections are usually a festive occasion, and a high turnout is certain, the lack of interest in Thursday's contest is surreal. Ask the men who peddle the rickshaws who their local BNP candidate is, and they just shrug their shoulders. Ask them whether they will vote, and they laugh.

This campaign belongs to the ruling Bangladesh Nationalist Party. All the main opposition parties are boycotting the vote because the prime minister, Begum Khaleda Zia, has refused to make way for a neutral administration that would guard against electoral fraud.

BNP candidates have already been elected unopposed in 49 constituencies. They do not appear to face much challenge in the others.

The Seven-Party Alliance, which is contesting 98 of 300 seats, did not even exist dur-

ing the last vote in 1991 — the only fair elections in independent Bangladesh. Other contenders, like the Freedom Party and an Islamist party, scored just 0.27 per cent of the vote last time.

"These parties have been placed there only with the intention of showing that there is competition," said Khandakar Abdul Malik, who is defending his seat for the BNP in Sylhet.

Although Mr Malik had a slim majority, he is relaxed this time around. But he is not entirely happy about the turn of events. He said: "It is essential in a parliamentary system that there should be opposition. If we do not survive this time, democracy may not come back. That's why we are going for an election without opposition."

At the weekend, Begum Khaleda Zia made her second campaign trip to two constituencies she is contesting north of Dhaka, leaving a trail of devastation in her wake, as protesters ran riot in an attempt to stop the meetings.

Political commentators fear that the escalating clashes surrounding election activity could force a cancellation of

the polls and even — though they still see it as a remote possibility — a return to military rule.

But the BNP argues that it would be unconstitutional to delay the polls and yesterday warned the opposition not to prevent people from voting.

"The violence and terror tactics are being applied only by three opposition parties," Badruddoza Chowdhury, the former deputy parliamentary leader, told a press conference. "They have done it for 22 months; so we feel that they should stop their agitation 48 hours before the polls and allow people to make up their own minds whether they want to vote."

He said that once the new government is elected it should try to seek a compromise with the BNP's main opponent, the Awami League, so that new elections can be held with full participation.

But Western diplomats who have been trying to head off the political disaster that is unfolding are less optimistic. They say the Awami League's Sheikh Hasina is in as defiant mood as the prime minister, making the prospects of a compromise remote.

Keating wins, but fails to deal fatal blow

Christopher Zinn in Sydney

The Australian prime minister, Paul Keating, narrowly defeated his conservative rival John Howard in the first debate of the federal election campaign last night.

But political analysts said he failed to deliver the decisive victory he so desperately needed to revive his lagging campaign before the poll on March 2.

In the eagerly awaited televised contest, Mr Keating, fighting to save Labour after 13 years in power, appealed to voters not to turn their backs on the government's economic reforms and his diplomatic opening to Asia.

"If people believe they can give three years to the opposition — to a party trying to copy-cat the government — to adopt the government's policies, I assure them that the fire will go out," he said.

A poll of the studio audience gave Mr Keating 51 per cent and Mr Howard 49 per cent. But it may not be enough.

"There was no killer punch," said Paul Lynham, a

political commentator. "I don't think Howard has come away significantly down in his standing in the community. I don't think Keating has done himself an enormous amount of good."

Mr Howard, however, hit a nerve with the electorate when he said: "This present government has now been in power 13 years and it's developed all the signs of arrogance, of being out of touch, of taking people for granted."

Last night was a defining moment for Mr Howard, who has lost one election to Labour and was dumped by

ard's opposition coalition of the Liberal National parties about eight to 10 points ahead.

After 22 years in parliament, Mr Howard knows that if he can avoid scaring the voters with plans to overhaul radically the industrial relations and Medicare health system, his place in The Lodge, the prime minister's official Canberra residence, is almost assured.

The Labour ascendancy of the 1980s was largely made possible by the vicious leadership battles which divided the coalition. Mr Howard took

over as party leader in 1985, lost an election in 1987 and survived a challenge, but was deposed in 1989.

But continuing instability in the party gave him his chance and in early 1995 he was unanimously voted back to the leadership.

Mr Howard released his pitch for the important so-called ethnic vote when he unveiled the coalition's immigration policies on Friday. The issue has been a damaging one for him since 1988 when he said: "I wouldn't like to see the rate of Asian immigration go any higher."

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"He stands in relation to TV the way Tolstoy stands to the novel," says John Romano. "It's hard to think of anyone in the last 15 years who has had more impact on television," says Grant Tinker. Ian Katz on TV mogul Steven Bochco

Profile G2 page 4

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One bomb must not stop the talks

The rationale for the peace process is just as valid today

BISMARCK once wisely observed that events are stronger than the plans of men. He might have had Northern Ireland in mind, for his words precisely describe the extremely difficult situation in which all parties now find themselves.

Friday's bomb has thrown the plans of men into disarray. The question is no longer how to get to all-party talks but how to deal with the IRA's bombing of South Quay.

It is totally understandable that this should be a time of confusion. The bombing took most of the protagonists by surprise, however much they may have acknowledged the possibility of an action of this kind.

THE fact that the IRA has now renounced exclusively peaceful means is therefore deeply shocking to those who believed that the republican movement had made a historic compromise when the ceasefire was announced in 1994.

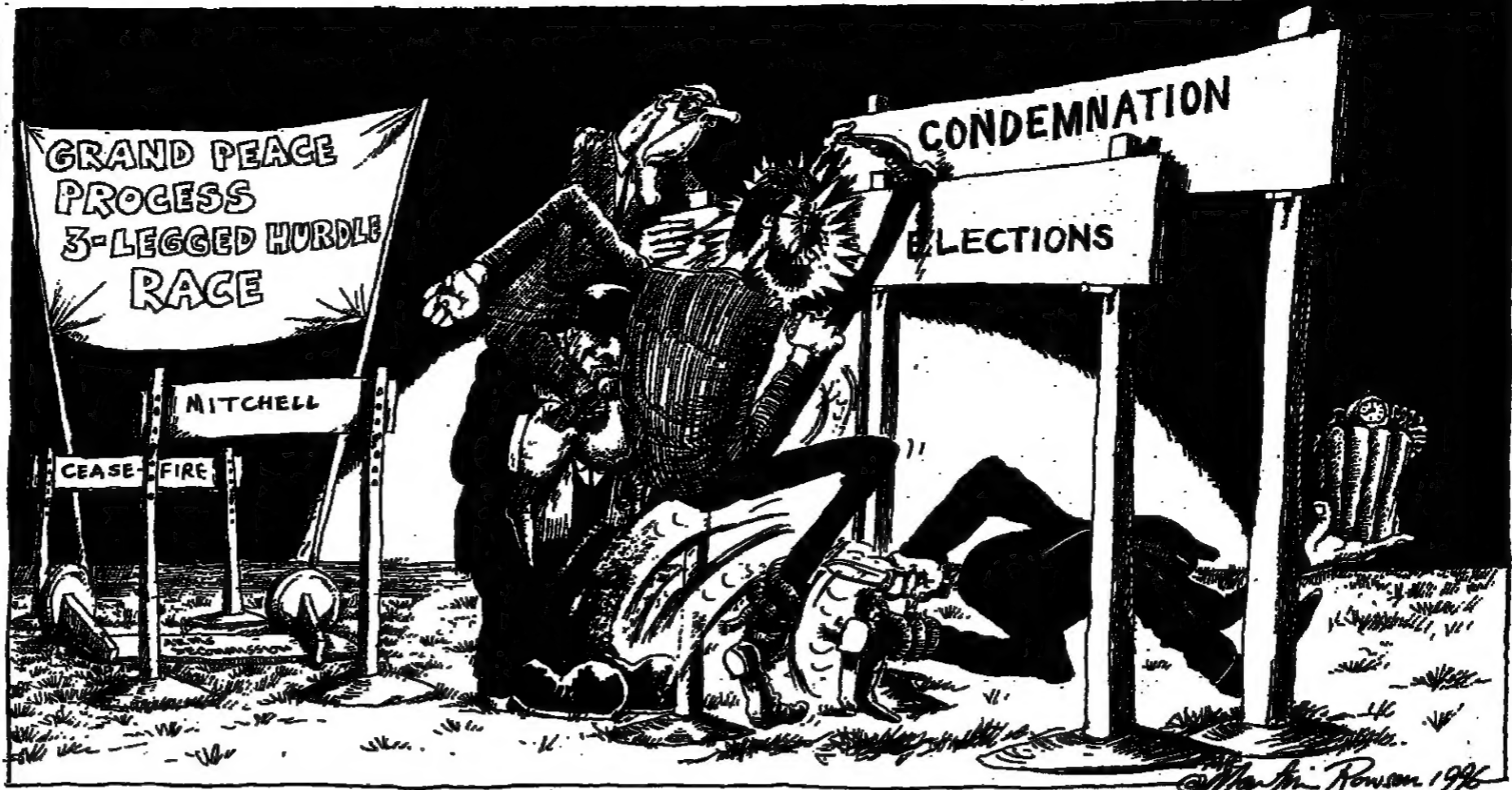
The real question is whether the various protagonists have a mutual political interest in talking to one another. It is vital always to bear in mind that the peace process began because all sides — not just the IRA — wanted to bring an end to the terrorist war in the north.

They were right to talk to one another, secretly at first and then gradually more openly. They had both made the good political judgment that the war was a stalemate and that they might each be able to find a basis for a new settlement in the north, not least because nationalist Ireland, in the shapes of Albert Reynolds and John Hume, seemed so ready to bring the two sides together.

The bombing of South Quay did not take place when everything was going well but when everything was going extremely badly. The peace process had lost almost all momentum and had become bogged down in a series of arguments about the terms upon which Sinn Fein could be permitted to join all-party talks.

THE case for restarting the peace process is stronger than ever, for it has to be faced that Friday's IRA bombing has reminded many people of what is at stake. It forces people to recall how hopeless and negative the old bombing campaigns had become.

The case for talks is overwhelming. A peace still needs to be built and Britain and Ireland have a common interest in pressing ahead to revive the peace process on the basis of the Mitchell Report and according to a brisk timetable.



Following the IRA bomb, Gerry Adams accuses the British government of criminally neglecting the peace process. Below and right, key players and commentators assess where politicians can go now

Bad faith and dishonesty

"If the focus remains on the past, the past will become the future and that is something that no one can desire."

IN THAT one small sentence, Senator George Mitchell and his colleagues in their international report last month captured the deepest aspiration of the people of Ireland for a lasting peace.

For nearly a year-and-a-half, the guns of war in Ireland were silent. For several years in advance of that myself, the SDLP leader John Hume, the former Irish Taoiseach Albert Reynolds and Irish-American peacekeeping put together a package which persuaded the IRA to call a complete cessation of military operations on the basis that it would lead to an inclusive process of negotiations.

On Friday night last, the IRA ended its 18-month-long cessation. The announcement was greeted universally with disappointment and regret. At this time my thoughts are with the families of those killed and injured in the London explosion. I understand the pain they are going through.

The reality is that the IRA was undefeated 18 months ago

the key to advancing the peace process to a peace settlement. This was the commitment given by the two governments, publicly and repeatedly in the run-up to the IRA cessation. This was the context in which the IRA in August 1994 made their historic announcement.

Seamus Mallon: It is important to remember that the nature of the problems we have to solve is the same today as it was before the end of the ceasefire. What has changed as a result of the bomb is the context in which a solution to those problems can be found.

Richard Holme: This is a good time for strong nerves. We should remember that the Middle East had, and still has, periodic explosions along the way. So, even as we fume and mourn at Friday night's outrage, it is important for all those involved in the peace process to show consistency of purpose.

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the families of those killed and injured in the London explosion. I understand the pain they are going through. I speak from the personal experience of losing many relatives, friends and colleagues in 25 years of conflict. It may be difficult for some people to absorb this after what happened on Friday night, but the reality is that the IRA was undefeated when 18 months ago it took a very courageous decision to create what was universally recognised to be the greatest opportunity since partition to resolve the conflict and secure a lasting peace settlement.

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process. Last November, the two governments established the twin-track approach. The Irish Taoiseach, John Bruton, described it as the means to remove preconditions to all-party talks. But when Senator George Mitchell's international body issued its report, the British government dumped it, reneging again on its commitment to begin all-party talks.

When the IRA announced its complete cessation of military operations, it presented everyone, but particularly the two governments, with a unique and unprecedented opportunity. The hope and expectation was most effectively summed up by Seamus Heaney, when he described the new situation as a "space in which hope can grow".

Our goal was to deepen that hope, to nourish it and to build a new beginning for all of the Irish people, and to open a new chapter in the relationship between the Irish and British people. Regrettably that hope was dashed on the rock of John Major's self-interest and the need for unionist votes at Westminster. While the IRA must bear the responsibility for its actions in London, the British government must bear its total responsibility for the collapse of the peace process. It has been guilty of criminal neglect.

One thing is clear: it is not possible to have peace in Ireland unless the British government is committed to that objective.

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Clearly, the question now must be what happens next? In any conflict, there are two ways of bringing it to an end. Either one side defeats the other, or we somehow find a way to rebuild the peace process and work for and secure a negotiated peace settlement.

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The Government seems to be locked into a psychology of war

danger of moving back. That has now happened. The IRA has renounced exclusively peaceful means and opted for what is essentially a Unionist demand has added to the uncertainty and the failure to begin serious negotiations.

The task facing both governments is an onerous one. In the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the Joint Framework Document and the Joint Declaration, they gave a solemn assurance that jointly they would seek to reach agreement among all the people of Ireland. They must now deliver on that promise. Only they have the power, the authority and the agreed structure to spearhead the type of

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other words, it is crucial that people sit down around the table and treat each other as human beings. Peace in Ireland can only be achieved through honest dialogue and democratic negotiations based on equality. This is not a military problem. It is a political problem which was pointed out, with others, that the peace process could not stand still. If it was not moving forward it was always in grave

This is not a time for knee-jerk reactions or for slamming the door on dialogue. That will only aggravate the situation. People in Ireland and Britain want above all to see their governments and political representatives move positively and decisively to engage in dialogue to resolve our difficulties.

For Sinn Fein's part, we are firmly committed to democratic and peaceful means of resolving political issues and to the objective of an equitable and lasting agreement that can command the consent and allegiance of all the people on the island of Ireland.

Sinn Fein also remains committed to the total disarmament of all armed groups and to the removal, wherever, of all guns, republican, loyalist and British, from the political equation in Ireland. Sinn Fein's commitment to our peace strategy and to a lasting peace based on democratic negotiations remains absolute.

Gerry Adams is President of Sinn Fein

Seamus Mallon, MP for Newry and Armagh, is deputy leader of the SDLP

Richard Holme, MP for Cheltenham is Liberal Democrat parliamentary spokesman on Northern Ireland

Handwritten signature: Seamus Mallon

Vital words that went unspoken

Peter Temple-Morris

THE IRA ceasefire of August 1994 represented a historic opportunity to deliver peace to the island of Ireland and the British Isles as a whole. The opportunity has not yet been taken, but it still exists — just. Whether politicians, press and public will have the imagination and perspective to seize it remains to be seen.

The closer relationship between the two governments, from the all-important Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 through to the Downing Street Declaration of December 1993, was absolutely crucial in creating the necessary climate. The role of John Hume and the Americans crucial in exploiting it. The IRA ceasefire crucial in presenting the opportunity. It was only a ceasefire. The British reaction was to go on for months questioning whether it was permanent or not. It was never intended or meant to be permanent. It was the IRA, or terrorists, if you like, coming in from the cold, putting down their weapons and saying: "Talk to us about peace." There also could be no question of surrender, which is where decommissioning comes in. In the context of the ceasefire, there was no scope for decommissioning before talks and no way that Sinn Fein could get the IRA to deliver it. We were only dealing with a ceasefire. We then knowingly and quite rightly took up the process. The point is that you knowingly accept to be part of a process of talks following a ceasefire, then you should talk. For 18 months not a word has

been spoken in the context of the IRA's expectations of and reasons for the ceasefire. The intense and historical distrust of the British by the republicans has steadily mounted until violence has resumed.

The two governments' agendas have not been close enough, particularly since July 1995, to make the process work. The British see it as involving constitutional change in the North and in the island-of-Ireland context, with equality of esteem for the nationalists, and with any development towards a united Ireland being evolutionary and subject to the principle of consent. The British tend to view matters much more from the status-quo point of view, with the prolongation

We must be ready to contemplate real change in Northern Ireland

of the peace and its effect on the people of Northern Ireland providing its own strategy. We are not "persuaders"; we have chosen not to pressure the unionists — and therefore, by definition, change as part of the process will be slow. Sadly, recent events have indicated that it could be too slow.

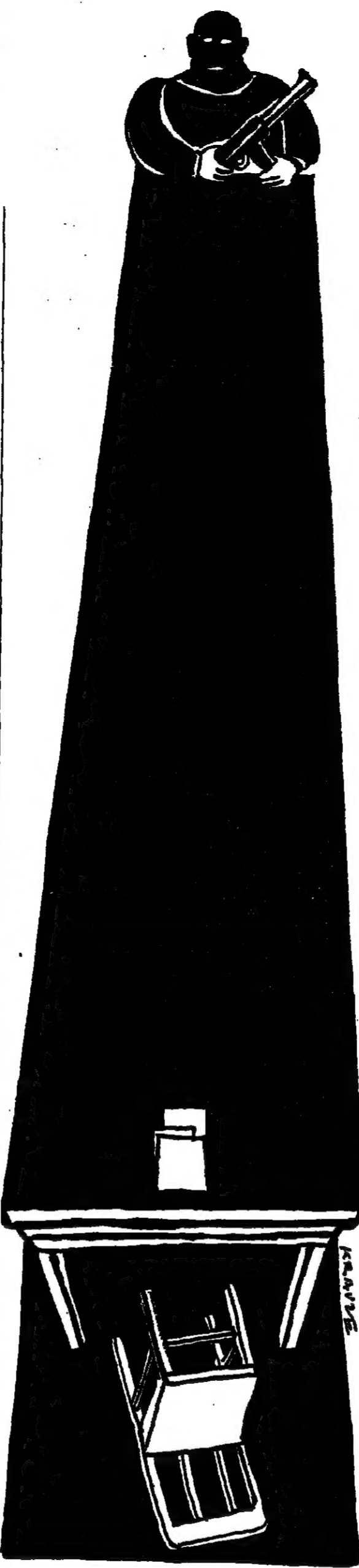
Since July 1995, much concern was expressed behind the scenes, the two governments have drifted apart, mainly over the decommissioning issue. The Irish formed the firm view, later endorsed by Senator George Mitchell, that the IRA would not deliver on preliminary conditional decommissioning. The British held

rock-solid to this condition. The twin-track approach was on the table from early September until finally agreed only on the eve of President Clinton's visit. The Mitchell Report came out of that, and effectively kept the show just on the road. Once we decided not to operate within the Mitchell Report but outside it, and without the prior agreement of the Irish government, the scene was set for a possible resumption of violence. There was no time to get agreement for an elective process towards negotiations.

The future is difficult, if not bleak, because it involves going round the same route again. More give has to come from those moving away from the status quo, which means the British and the unionists on the one hand and the IRA on the other. The IRA delivered an 18-month-long ceasefire and could deliver another one if they thought it would work. We have to react by showing sufficient willingness, having entered a process to be prepared to move away from the status quo and to contemplate real change in Northern Ireland.

If we do not accept the realities of what we are involved in, we will all fail. We must talk to the Irish government, establish an agreed and hopefully common agenda; we must then sell that agenda to the parties and where necessary try to persuade them. We can still get to these talks. There can still be peace in Ireland as part of this process. Goodness knows we should try and make it work.

Peter Temple-Morris is Conservative MP for Laminar and co-chairman of the British-Irish Inter-Parliamentary Body, but writes in a personal capacity



Too little, too late

Albert Reynolds

WHEN John Major and I started on the peace process over three years ago, most people thought a ceasefire could not be achieved and would not last more than a month or two if it were. The peace process was always fragile, and needed injections of life-blood to keep it moving. It was never going to be easy but everybody had to get involved. If we had done nothing, hundreds more would have died.

In all the dealings I had with the republican leadership and the loyalist paramilitaries, they were honourable and kept their word. Now they have a very strong sense of betrayal. Commitments were made in the Downing Street Declaration which were not kept. New preconditions were introduced in the Mitchell Report. Republican leaders such as Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness, who courageously led their community into political involvement, should have received more support by true political activity, but did not.

Decommissioning was never a precondition of the Downing Street Declaration and the insistence on it created serious problems. It was made clear from early on that it was unacceptable and unachievable.

The response on prison policy was, if anything, more hard-line than before the ceasefire. That began to raise questions about the commitment of the British to the process.

Initially the delays were seen by Sinn Fein and others in the Republic as a way for John Major to get over his domestic problems and to allow unionists time to elect a new leader. But after that, people expected movement. When it didn't come, the whole process began to run out of steam.

My belief was that everyone should be at the table and everything should be on the table. No one could be forced to stay at the table, and there should have been no preconditions. But the perception now is that John Major has given in totally to unionist demands. The British government appears to have made a foolish miscalculation that the ceasefire had lasted so long there was no question of a return to violence, so it therefore did not have to do anything.

The principles of the Mitchell Commission got to the core of the issues. The recommendations would not have been easy for the republican leadership to accept, but if all else was going well and they had cleared the way to all-party talks they would probably have accepted them. Those principles would also have

given the unionists assurances they were justifiably seeking.

In Northern Ireland it is dangerous to come down on one side or the other. You have to be seen to be even-handed. John Major was seen to have sided with the Mitchell Report in favour of a unionist proposal. From the Irish perspective, it seemed that there was an attempt being made to demilitarise people. Strong political leadership is about doing things you don't like doing. And the British government had already spoken to Sinn Fein over a long period in secret without preconditions while bombing continued.

No democrat has a problem with elections, but I do not see them in the short term as solving the problem. Everyone knows what the results will be. They are not really intended as a way of getting into all-party talks immediately. By the time we got into elections, we would be approaching a general election in Britain anyway.

The two governments must now start putting their relationship back together to restore the trust and credibility which was the strength of the process up to last Friday. Dialogue and debate is the only insurance against a full return to violence.

Albert Reynolds TD was Taoiseach 1982-84

But why were we so astonished?

Arthur Aughey

THAT acute observer of human behaviour, the Duc de La Rochefoucauld, believed that the "only thing that should astonish us is that we are still capable of astonishment." The general astonishment of the IRA announcement when the IRA announced the ending of its ceasefire and exploded a bomb in London tends to confirm La Rochefoucauld's maxim. Why were we all so astonished?

The astonishment did not lie in the shocking and appalling nature of the act itself. Astonishment is not a moral response and has nothing to do with the outrage almost everyone felt at the enormity of the IRA's action. Astonishment lay, firstly, in the apparent irrationality of the act. For those of us tutored in the way of democratic procedures and the civilities that such procedures demand, the act was irrational because it appeared so pointless and so utterly disproportionate to the present political difficulties in Northern Ireland. Astonishment also lay, however, in being confronted by our own self-delusions about the capacity of democratic procedures to attract those who have been committed to violence.

Essentially, what had been asked of Sinn Fein and the IRA was that they should end the fundamental contradiction between enjoying the possibilities of democratic

society based on rules subscribed to by everyone else whilst denying those rules themselves. The republican leadership operated on the principle that the end (Irish unity) justified the means — murder, intimidation, extortion. They were being asked to accept the principle that the means (democratic procedures) defined the end — a political settlement based on consent. Furthermore, they were required by the British government to end the contradiction between subscribing to the generalities of peaceful activity while denying its essential condition: the complete renunciation of violence to achieve political goals.

This is what the requirement of arms decommissioning was seeking. Sinn Fein chose to interpret it to mean that the IRA was being asked to surrender to the British, and that this constituted a humiliation. A surrender was being asked of Sinn Fein; but it was a surrender to the principles of democratic procedure. Decommissioning would involve not humiliation but a very public acceptance of the logic of peace, to create the confidence for constructive political engagement in Northern Ireland. An acceptance of democratic procedures and the start of decommissioning would have sealed a process which could be conducted without duress or fraud.

Sinn Fein never acknowledged the principles of demo-

cratic procedure. The Downing Street Declaration was unacceptable. The IRA would not accept the result of Senator Mitchell's international body on decommissioning. Sinn Fein did not subscribe to the Mitchell Report's six principles and would not sign up to the Mitchell Report's report of the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation in Dublin. This suggests that the ideological end remains more important to Sinn Fein than the democratic means.

In other words, the peace process has one distinctive meaning for Sinn Fein and the IRA. Process means an engagement towards a pre-determined end. It is a working out of a law of historical inevitability based on the Irish people's right to self-determination. When the assertion of democratic procedures, such as the consent of the people of Northern Ireland, appears to conflict with that process then, for republicans, the process is in crisis, is threatened, has run its present course. It is politics with a no-loss clause. For Sinn Fein, politics is war by other means. Why, then, did the IRA

return to its campaign now? There are three obvious circumstances. First, the moment of maximum disagreement between the British and Irish governments was selected as a way of trying to deflect blame on to John Major's shoulders. Second, bombing London was a transparent attempt to drive a wedge between the people of Great Britain and the people of Northern Ireland. Third, it was an emphatic and deadly way of saying no to elections.

However, there is a broader cultural explanation. The IRA is rooted in both self-pity and self-righteousness. It is the militant assertion of a sense of victimhood which involves cynical political calculation and ideological dogmatism. The culture of militant republicanism is subject to illusions — such as that it can engage in a little bit of violence and return to the peace process having achieved a renegotiation of the requirements for a ceasefire. In short, violence will deliver what argument cannot. It is the task of the British and Irish governments to disabuse them of that.

Constitutional nationalists justified the peace process on the basis that an all-inclusive strategy was the best condition for a political settlement. This, as John Bruton put it, was "an act of faith". There was always the danger that unionists would understand such a course not as the constitutionalising of republicanism but as

the republicanising of Irish nationalism. Yet Friday's bomb showed that the IRA had jumped ship and had been preparing to do so for some time. It kept to a different faith. What might be done?

La Rochefoucauld noted that no "occurrences are so unfortunate that the shrewd cannot turn them to some advantage, nor so fortunate that the imprudent cannot turn them to their own disadvantage". Politicians must turn Friday's outrage to the advantage of democratic society and ensure that the IRA's imprudent act goes unrewarded. The opportunity exists for the so-called "Irish peace process" (which we now know was a sham) to be transformed into the people's peace process. It is time for unionists to take the initiative and make it a process with which everyone can feel comfortable. This involves a refashioning of the process rather than its "intensification". Elections must take place.

The politics of the peace process has happened in London, Dublin, Washington and on the media. It is important now to involve and to engage the citizens of Northern Ireland. There is a workable deal to be had. The IRA's bomb must not frustrate its achievement.

Dr Arthur Aughey is senior politics lecturer at the University of Ulster at Jordanstown. He is co-editor (with Doreen Morrow) of Northern Ireland Politics (Longman, published late Feb.)

Letters to the Editor

Talk, quit or defeat?

MY house was rocked by the Canary Wharf bomb. The people of London are not prepared to carry the burden of unionist intransigence any longer. The British government, under pressure from the unionists, has spent the last 18 months throwing up obstacles after obstacles to serious negotiations over Northern Ireland.

The reason is equally obvious: any negotiations must involve compromise and that means some weakening of unionist power. The unionists are not prepared to cede an inch, and have successfully blackmailed the Government into playing their game.

We owe the bigots of Northern Ireland nothing and it's time we got rid of this expensive colony, just like we've got rid of dozens of others in the past 30 years.

I am not making any suggestion of an immediate London EA.

DOES the IRA need to commit the kind of atrocities seen in the former Yugoslavia since August 1994? Whist the British Government has significantly reduced the military profile in the province, and made concessions in releasing terrorists from jail, what have we got from Gerry Adams and company? Not one token pistol or ounce of Semtex.

Nearly 60 years ago, Neville Chamberlain arrived back in this country clutching a worthless piece of paper signed by Hitler and talking of peace at any price. We have got a Chamberlainesque character in No 10 now and he has been equally duped by another set of amoral thugs. For Poland 1939, read Canary Wharf 1996.

Is it not a ludicrous irony that Margaret Thatcher brought the full force of British military might on the Argentines whilst her successor declares his intention to carry on talking to the political wing of an organisation whose bombers have similar designs on our cable and our capital city as did the Luftwaffe.

Tony Thorn, Bordon, Hants.

THE predictable debacle of Canary Wharf has its origins in two massive pieces of misjudgment. The first was by Sir Simon Fein in not making at least a tiny concession in the decommissioning process. They could have re-armed without the slightest difficulty.

The second error of judgment was by the UK Government in not accepting the main findings of the Mitchell Commission in relation to decommissioning. It was a respected and independent body and there seems little point in setting up such machinery and then ditching it if you don't like the findings.

The next step is for both sides to publicly accept that they got it wrong and take appropriate steps to demonstrate that they can get it right. Everyone makes mistakes but not everyone has the courage (or humility) to admit it.

Dr Ewan McLeish, Ferry Lane, Medmenham, Marlow, Bucks SL7 2HB.

WE are constantly being told that the "democratic process" is the best way, the only way, to resolve conflict. That being so why cannot the people of Ireland (and the rest of the world) decide the future of their country? Is not the existence of Northern Ireland a denial of democracy? D M Gough, Southbourne, Bournemouth.

THE Canary Wharf bomb has exposed Gerry Adams as an impotent political poseur, who was either not informed of the IRA's intentions, or was unable to dissuade the bombers from removing their so-called military activities. Either way, the once barely acceptable political face of militant Irish republicanism has been sidelined by the skulking murderers for whom he purported to speak. It was a high price to pay but the bomb may have silenced Adams more effectively than Margaret Thatcher's broadcasting gag ever did.

Mike Bird, Chorleywood, Herts.

THERE can be no solution in Northern Ireland in which Sinn Fein is made subject to British sovereignty, or in which Ulstermen become subjects of Eire. A radical, non-sectarian solution would devolve power downwards to the six counties and upwards to Europe.

Powers devolved downwards would be those where fair treatment of minorities could be confirmed by measurement. The counties would deal with solid, local, vital but

uncontentious issues in Irish terms. Policing, as in US states and UK counties, would also be a local matter, and thus less political. Power evolved upwards would be in those (many) areas in which European legislation has already been enacted and which can be seen to be sufficient for government of Northern Ireland. Examples are human rights, employment rights, control of pollution. It would also have to include foreign and military issues.

For Ulstermen, the government of Eire will have no more jurisdiction over the six counties than they have over France. For this, Ulstermen give up representation in the UK parliament, which will no longer influence their lives.

For Sinn Fein, British control passes to the European Union — which many of them already support. Sinn Fein would then give up the idea of union with Eire. For the Eire government, a reduction of English influence in the island of Ireland is significant. For their part, they give up the idea of a United Ireland.

There would be a 20-year plebiscite to safeguard the Ulstermen. If the majority wished to return to the present status of an integral part of the UK that would be available to them.

Prof Peter Gardiner, Lewes Road, Laughton, East Sussex.

CURIOUSLY, the Government has endorsed talks with others formerly considered terrorists, and even war crime suspects, in the former Yugoslavia and in Palestine: peace at any price is worth the risk, we were told. Sadly, it seems that on Ireland the British concern has been to save face and parliamentary seats rather than lives.

Felicity Arbuthnot, Homerton High Street, London E9 6AJ.

NORTHERN Ireland lacks political maturity. Its people, conditioned by years of violence, sectarianism and political intransigence, have embraced the politics of binary opposition as opposed to consensus-building and conciliation. Moreover, the authentic task of guaranteeing amity through the unity of inter-community purpose has been undermined by allowing the politicians who had done so much to mutilate stability and peace to act as our representatives.

We need a mutual acceptance that unionism and nationalism cannot operate without the perpetuation of sectarian division. The only solution is a re-definition of Northern Irish politics in which rapprochement starts at home and charity is shown to everyone.

Dr F Shirlow, School of Geosciences, Queen's University, Belfast BT7 1NN.

THE person who has the key to the way ahead is Tony Blair. Labour should give a firm public commitment that until the next general election, if the ceasefire is reaffirmed, then if any vote is lost by the Government that would have been won with the support of the unionists,

Labour will abstain on a fresh vote to reverse that result. This would remove the ability of the unionists to do deals with Tory backbenchers on other issues that would keep the Government impotent on the Irish negotiations.

Bill Allen, Montrose Gardens, Oxshott, Surrey KT22 0UU.

BRITAIN'S presence in Ireland has always been strategic — originally to close our back door against Spain and France, and, in the two world wars, to serve as a staging post for vital material from the US. The first reason no longer exists: the second, if needed, could be guaranteed were Ireland to join Nato.

This leaves the loyalist community. In the interest of *realpolitik* they must either integrate with a united Ireland, or be expelled. These stark choices to sizeable British communities in Kenya and Zimbabwe, where in neither case did the threatened "rivers of blood" materialise.

Deane Hetherington, Victoria Street, Brighton.

CANARY Wharf will be seen as the last nail in the coffin of IRA-republicanism, just as the attempted coup in Moscow in August 1991 spelt the end of Soviet communism. The IRA is essentially irrelevant to the politics of Ireland, north or south. It cannot achieve its objectives with the gun, and it cannot achieve them without the gun.

The only way that Sinn Fein republicanism can now survive is to detach itself from IRA-republicanism and get on with the democratic political process in Northern Ireland. This would be the true test of Mr Adams's statesmanship and political acumen, rather than his preference for strutting before gullible congressmen in Washington.

Deane W Matthews, Principal Lecturer in International Relations, School of International Studies and Law, Coventry University.

AFTER three years of dealing with his own awkward squad, Mr Major must recognise the plight of Gerry Adams; for him to "condemn unequivocally" would be equivalent to Major welcoming unequivocally the single currency, the European Court or closer political union.

Roger Kemp, Oakwood Gardens, Lancaster LA1 4PF.

NO progress will be made so long as the IRA are treated as sub-human terrorists rather than freedom fighters. They see themselves as an army of liberation, and an army loses face if it gives in or gives its weapons; it might, however, be willing to talk terms. Like Hong Kong, the province cannot remain a crown colony forever.

Nicholas Hayson, Springvale Road, Kings Wortley, Winchester, Hants SO23 7ND.

THERE must be a general election now so that peace in Ireland isn't at the mercy of the Tory majority.

Linda Karlson, Leppoc Rd, London SW4 9LS.



Henry Lewis

Leading the way with the baton

IN 1960 black American conductor Henry Lewis, who has died aged 63, married the white soprano Marilyn Horne. It was early days for the civil rights movement and, as Horne later recalled, "America's unwritten apartheid laws threatened to stop my career before it began."

In 1961 Lewis became the first black American to lead a major orchestra, the Los Angeles Philharmonic, and in 1968 he was the first black to be put in charge of a proper symphony orchestra, the New Jersey Symphony — not that it then had much of a reputation. Lewis upgraded the quality of playing and the quality of soloists and widened the repertoire. The orchestra became an ensemble to be reckoned with.

In 1972 Lewis, on his 40th birthday, became the first black conductor at New York's Metropolitan Opera House, in Bohème. It was his official house debut in 1965, he had led the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra in a Gertrude Stein concert at Lewisohn Stadium. He remained on the Met's roster until 1977.

Lewis was born in Los Angeles, the only child of a nurse and a car dealer. His parents had no musical background but at the age of five, Henry Jr was studying piano. He also took double bass, which at 16 he was playing in the LA Philharmonic. He won a scholarship to the University of Southern California, where Horne also was enrolled. So began their romance, which seemed doomed in 1955 when Lewis left for Germany to join the US Army — or rather the Seventh Army Symphony in Stuttgart, which later he conducted on tour. In 1956, Horne arrived in Germany, with a contract to perform at the Gelsenkirchen opera.

In the early sixties Lewis founded the LA Chamber Orchestra but it was after his LA Philharmonic debut that his career blossomed. He took over the Philharmonic's youth concerts and became Zubin Mehta's assistant.

Horne called Lewis "my in-house coach" and, after he persuaded her to accept the role of Adalgisa in Bellini's Norma for her Met debut, she zoomed to superstar status. But in 1979 the strain on their marriage ended in divorce. They had one daughter.



Breaking the mould... Lewis was the first black American to conduct a major orchestra

Met roster in 1977, he conducted more frequently in Europe — making his British opera debut in 1978 with Simon Boccanegra at Scottish Opera and returning for Le Cid d'Or and a successful Lucia di Lammermoor. His British career also included Semiramide at Covent Garden (again leading Horne in the role of Arsace) and Il Barbiere di Siviglia at the Welsh National Opera, in 1996.

He conducted in Montreal, Hamburg, Venice and many other centres of opera and often guested with American and London orchestras. In 1989 he became music director of the Netherlands Radio Symphony Orchestra and in 1991 served as music director of Simon Callow's revival of Carmen Jones at the Old Vic. His recordings included Le Prophète, with Horne as Fides.

Brian Kellow Henry Jay Lewis, conductor, born October 16, 1932; died January 25, 1996

Eric Brown

The building of architects

FIRST met Eric Brown, who has died aged 94, in the autumn of 1932 when he was instructed by the School of Architecture's Association to claim a space on one of the long studio trestle tables. As a young student it was surprising to find that the other student on my right was an "elderly" man of 37 years. Introducing myself, the "old" man revealed himself to be Eric Brown.

After years as an articulated pupil in a provincial architect's office, Brown was able to establish his own practice in Southampton. He saved enough to interrupt his practice for two years and qualify for the final examination of the Royal Institute of British Architects and thus to obtain the appropriate degree as a fully qualified architect. To make such a decision testifies to Brown's great determination and tenacity.

The war took him off to become a garrison engineer but, being of non-combatant status (he was at the time 39-years-old), he was entitled to answer an advertisement for the post of principal of a recently formed small architectural school, part of the School of Art at Kingston, Surrey. He won this post and with this opportunity he started on his life's work.

As a very great educator, organizer and negotiator he became a forceful protagonist of education and, after a relatively short number of years, elevated a small department into an autonomous, fully recognised institution of national repute.

His distinction offered him the chance of accepting an invitation to the post of visiting professor at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville — historically renowned

in the United States. Built to the designs of President Thomas Jefferson, it was a truly appropriate and refined surrounding for the teaching of architecture.

He also conducted for many years a fascinating series of lectures in and on the streets of London for Adult Education classes, revealing his great knowledge of centuries of design.

Eric never lost his all-embracing pleasure in looking, enjoying and talking of architecture as the mother of the arts. His journeys through Europe and Britain, not to mention his dry humour, made him a skilled and entertaining speaker and serious teacher.

Today's schools of architecture are in great need of such progressive and highly experienced principals who, like that middle-aged student of pre-war days, revived the nation's belief in the architecture of a humane and progressive society.

Stefan Buzas Eric Brown, architect, born January 25, 1901; died December 14, 1995

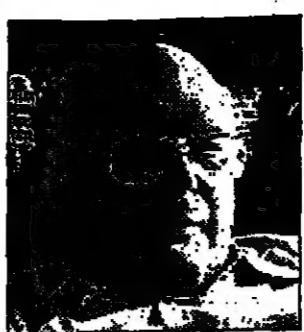


Principal... Brown

Edward Adamson

Art as a panacea

IN THE late 1940s Edward Adamson, who has died aged 84, volunteered to tour hospitals and give talks about picture reproductions which the Red Cross had loaned them. One such visit in 1948 took him to Netherne Psychiatric Hospital and led the physician superintendent to invite him to join the staff as an artist. He agreed, hesitantly.



Painting therapy... Adamson

Adamson always called himself an artist, and disliked the term "art therapist", but he became one of the founding fathers of that new vocation. His colleagues regarded him with distant awe, as the founder chairman of the British Association of Art Therapists and he won the Allen Lane Award for the best book on mental health with Art As Healing.

Educated at Bromley and Beckenham school of Art, Adamson served during the war as a concertant in the army medical corps. His shy, kindly personality endeared

him to his patients — many of whom were rejects in what was, in 1948, almost a penal institution. He treasured a flood of astonishingly talented and expressive paintings which at his retirement, 30 years later, had become the 60,000 works of the Adamson Collection. He valued the first drawings done with matchstick charcoal on inventory paper, as much as the great works of art — and he

respected all his patients. Among many artists he rescued were William Kurelek — who went on to be a leading Canadian painter — and the sculptress Rolanda Polonsky. His genius was recognised far more abroad than here. Visitors arrived from all over the world and he in turn went to Europe, the Near and Far East, and north America. He inspired the philanthropist Cornelia Vanderbilt and they became firm friends. Miriam Rothschild loaned him a barn for a gallery on her estate. Rebecca Hoffberger, founder of Baltimore's American Visionary Art Museum — where some of the Adamson Collection is exhibited — made him a guest of honour at the museum's opening. The rest of the collection is at the Bethlem Royal Hospital at Beckenham.

John Thelin Edward Adamson, art therapist and collector, born May 31, 1911; died February 3, 1996

Appreciation: Antonio

Master classes

MARY MOYER, a ballerina, was English but taken on by Diaghilev for his first London season in 1911, and much later she went to see Antonio (obituary, February 6) with my wife, Stella Thelin in 1954. When he came on she gripped my wrist and said, "I haven't seen that since Nijinsky made his first flying entrance in Spectre of the Rose." She was referring to Antonio's demonic Spanish inspiration — what Lorca called Don Juan, the great performing artist's ability to give you goose flesh and hold you breathless. I vividly remember his first night London audience at the Peter Dabney performances at the Cambridge Theatre, as part of the 1951 Festival of Britain.

Appreciating their drinks, unfinished and rushing back to their seats so as not to miss the part 2 Flamenco, for us a stunning theatrical revelation. One was reminded of Nietzsche's remark that he would only believe in a god who could dance.

Antonio was as rich a person in his life as he was a great artist. He had a son by the Duchess of Alba. He also spent some 18 days in prison in 1974 for blaspheming in front of the church at Arcos de la Frontera. When Franco heard, he apparently phoned the prison governor and ordered Antonio's immediate release — special dispensation for Spanish genius.

In a very generous gesture of friendship he gave me several master classes free, and invited me to dance a solo as guest artist with his company at the London Coliseum and later at the Royalty Theatre.

Trader Faulkner



WW2 destroyer commander... Lee-Barber (second from left)

John Lee-Barber

Battleship bravado

REAR-ADMIRAL John Lee-Barber, who has died aged 90, distinguished himself as a dashing destroyer commander of the second world war. When war broke out in 1939, Lieutenant-Commander Lee-Barber had just taken over HMS Griffin, his third destroyer command, in the First Fleet during the heated Anglo-French attempt to seize Norway, pre-empted by the Germans, the Griffin captured a German armed trawler at the end of April 1940. The papers recovered from it, helped British cryptographers to break into the German naval cipher apparatus although the crew had thrown the equipment overboard. The Bletchley Park codebreakers deciphered six days of April's traffic, a milestone on the way to Britain's most important wartime intelligence achievement: the penetration of the Enigma machine.

took a hand in the destruction of an Italian submarine, from which more intelligence material was recovered, and which helped the Navy to sink a second enemy boat. Despite serious damage from a bomb through her foredeck, the Griffin joined the escort of the battleships which led to the British victory over the Italians at the battle of Cape Matapan in March 1941. Lee-Barber found himself between his own line and the enemy, earning a memorable order from Cunningham: "Get out of the way, you BF". After the main action, Griffin and other destroyers attacked their Italian opposite numbers, sinking two.

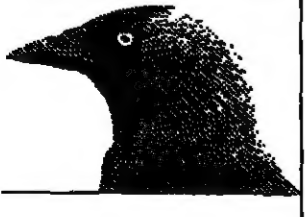
In the following month there was yet another evacuation, of British and Anzac forces from Greece. Griffin was also on hand for the next retreat, from Crete. During the lost fight for Greece, Lee-Barber saved survivors from sinking troops and towed a badly damaged submarine to safety. He stood tirelessly with his hull barriers on the next bridge day and night during the Mediterranean melées, swinging his ship from side to side to dodge the bombs. He was awarded a bar to his DSO. The Griffin escorted all the

battered convoys keeping Malta in the war during 1941, as well as supplying besieged Tobruk in North Africa. After a spell ashore between 1942-3, Lee-Barber took the destroyer Opportune into the harsh business of convoys to Russia. At Christmas 1943, Admiral Sir Bruce Fraser's Home Fleet battered the German battleshiper Scharnhorst. Opportune was sent in with other destroyers to deliver the coup de grace: torpedoes at close range. Lee-Barber won another mention in the despatches.

Lee-Barber joined the navy as a cadet at 14 and went into destroyers as a midshipman in 1937. After the war he stayed in destroyers, apart from one interlude in officer-training and another as a naval attaché. For three years from 1954 he was Commodore of the Harwich flotilla. His last naval post was as Admiral Superintendent at Malta, where he suffered a broken leg during the independence riots. He retired with the CB in 1969.

Dan van der Wat Rear-Admiral John Lee-Barber, born April 16, 1905; died November 14, 1995

Jackdaw



Mezzo Labour

SIR TERENCE Conran's announcement this week of his support for Tony Blair has unlocked the mystery (of Conran's most recent London restaurant, Mezzo). It was Aristotle who first compared politics with cooking; it took Conran's greater genius to construct a New Labour restaurant. The curious can feast-like long tables, at which you're seated cheek by jowl with strangers, represent "community". Happily, the prices make sure that your neighbours are never too horrendous. The Asian-style food is, of course, a tribute to the Tiger economies; while the

neo-peasant pots must be old Labour and, like it, are firmly on the shelf. They even have the same shape as John Prescott. Sometimes Sir Terence has not quite kept up with Mr Blair's elfin progress. The fact, for instance, that all the superior staff who seat you are women in little black power suits suggests that he is still enforcing all-women shortlists. But the master-stroke is the integration of colour and class. The (more) expensive bit is poked in the basement thus proving that Sir Terence, like his mentor, is able to bluff on class, bluff on the causes of class. Finally, the only black [person] I noticed in the place is given a starring role, handing out towels in the gentleman's club-style lavatory. Aristocratic maxims states that in politics, as in cooking, it is the consumer who is the served. We left rather a lot of our meal. David Starkey, he of the Moral Maze, writing the Diary in the Spectator. Two innovations in this week's issue: the departure of Auberon Waugh and a

colour advertisement for Gucci. Honour, obey ● WE WILL both live within a budget. ● We will pay off all credit card debts before making any major purchases. ● We will each receive an allowance of \$70 per week to cover haircuts, eating out, gifts for friends, and spending money. ● We will engage in healthy sex three to five times per week. ● Teresa will stay on birth control for two years after we are married and then will try to get pregnant. ● When both of us are working, Teresa can have only one child. ● When one parent is free, Teresa can have another child. ● When both of us are free, Teresa can have one more child. After the third pregnancy we will both get sterilised. ● Family leadership and decision-making is Rex's responsibility.

● Teresa will make decisions in emergencies and when Rex is not available. ● We will both make ourselves available for discussion 15 to 30 minutes per day. ● We won't raise our voices with each other. If we get angry, we will count to 10 first. ● We will not use tobacco products and will practice moderate alcohol consumption. ● On weekdays we will turn out the lights by 11.30pm and wake up at 6.30am. ● When driving, we will stay one car length away from other cars for every 10mph. ● We will provide unconditional love and fulfill each other's basic needs. From a prenuptial agreement filed in New Mexico between Teresa Carpatas and Robert Rex LeGally from Albuquerque, Reprinted in Harper's magazine. Books net SO THE faecal solids of corporate bookkeeping's stupidity have hit the circulatory air-conditioning of economic

reality. Let us assess the current climate. Book sales — up 1,088,833 per cent. Profits on book sales — up 1,003 per cent. Self-comforting jargon — up 1,083,333 per cent. Delia Smith's income — up £1.25 million... In a spunky performance, the chairman of newly founded Non-Swindon Independent Selling Books Corporation said: "Our new strata-tion equipment has given us significant growth though there was a zero win game (for use on Sega Mega-Neopajump Mark 5) on the margin times growth, not to mention volume times discount. Our operating profit is up £2.6 million to £5.3 million on reduced sales of £234.36p. "Unfortunately, we have not managed to wangle a single redundancy out of the present sense of caution. The Corporation has decided that in these difficult trading times, in order to keep confidence up in the City it will put a brave face on it and prove that literacy and numeracy are not dead." Keith and Janet Kenyon, Thompson, of the Book Shop in

Ruffin, Denbighshire, keep the rumpus over the Net Book Agreement alive in this letter to the Bookseller. Don't panic THE COMBINATION of distributed digital technology and robust encryption has brought informationised society to a very sharp balance point between two lousy choices. On one side lies a technological foundation upon which the most massive totalitarianism could be built. On the other is a jungle in which any number of anarchic guerrillas might hide, upon whom little order could ever be imposed... At present most of us unwittingly leave a highly visible and nearly indelible trail in Cyberspace. Every time we make a modern financial transaction, use the telephone, send an e-mail message, we leave a path of bits from which anyone who's interested and properly equipped can assemble the detailed informational ghosts of our naked selves. If you have something you'd rather hide, don't hide it here. Furthermore, the tools of surveillance are becoming far more sophisticated and conducive to centralisation. Massive pattern recognition engines can be applied to the Net from, say, Washington DC or Beijing, and specifically tuned to recognise certain kinds of activities. Or even beliefs. Any government that can automatically generate an in-

fringe war review SEXI SOLUTIONS FUDDI! On the edge... Fringe Ware

mate profile of every one of its citizens is a government with a potential for absolute power that will eventually, to use Lord Acton's phrase, corrupt absolutely. Few civil liberties are likely to survive such capacities in the hands of increasingly panicky authoritarianism who run the embattled bureaucracies of the Meat World. Worse, their panic may be justified. An equally apprehensive and growing lot of cyber-libertarians now have at their disposal tools as unbalancingly powerful as their power to conceal as are the other side's in the service of revelation. One-time Grateful Dead lyricist turned New York Perry Barlow ponders the Net, security and personal liberty in Fringe Ware Review. Jackdaw wants your jewels. E-mail jackdaw@guardian.co.uk; fax 0171-713 4366; Jackdaw, The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER. Dan Glaister

Handwritten signature or scribble at the bottom of the page.

Monday February 12 1996

Frustration in Threadneedle Street, page 12

Britain passes euro buck, page 12

Financial Editor: Alex Brummer
Telephone: 0171-239-9610
Fax: 0171-833-4456

Finance Guardian

Farnell hits out at City doubt over £1.85bn bid

Pauline Springett

FARNELL Electronics hit back yesterday at detractors of its proposed £1.85 billion takeover of the much bigger US group, Premier, saying that the proxy votes received so far gave the deal "overwhelming" support. Farnell, the electronics components distributor based in Wetherby, West Yorkshire, said it remained "absolutely convinced of the medium and long-term strategic significance of the proposed acquisition and the benefits that will flow from the combination of the two businesses."

with the investors' advice specialists, Pension and Insurance Research Consultants, said the vote was "still winnable" by the rebels. The Farnell affair marked a new stage in the development of shareholder power. "This is the first time we've been able to whip up support over a takeover. Generally it is viewed as a 'hands-off' situation by the City," she said. Last summer's furore over British Gas had changed attitudes. "Institutions are realising they are going to be held accountable. British Gas has put an end to rubber stamping."

The takeover had "attracted widespread support from leading institutional shareholders, independent researchers and analysts, and from Farnell's and Premier's suppliers and other members of the electronics industry." Three of Farnell's largest shareholders are understood to support the takeover — Mercury Asset Management with 14 per cent of the vote, Fleming with 5 per cent and Scottish Widows with 6 per cent. Last week there were indications from shareholders representing around 13 per cent that they planned to veto the takeover, arguing Farnell is paying too high a price and that earnings will be diluted. The deal will fall unless it is backed by at least 75 per cent of shareholders at next Thursday's extraordinary general meeting in Wetherby. The deadline for the receipt of proxy votes is 11am tomorrow and it is understood that proxies from 25 per cent of shareholders have been received, with 80 per cent of these behind the deal. Anne Simpson, a consultant

Standard Life shocked Farnell last week by taking the unusual step of announcing its opposition to the takeover. It looks likely to be joined by Prudential, which has a 6 per cent stake in Farnell, Norwich Union with 3.5 per cent and Legal & General with 1.5 per cent. Patrick Barton, an investment manager of UK equities at Norwich Union, said that the fund's decision would be taken today and would not be publicised. "We are leaning in a particular direction," he conceded. "Obviously we take on board what policyholders say and I think we are more aware now that the public is more conscious. But we have always voted on every issue and we have always done it based on what we consider is in the best interests of policyholders."



Steve Xu, left, a manager of BOC China, meets Professor Li Cheng, chairman of Taiyuan Iron and Steel, to inaugurate an industrial gases joint venture in north central China. BOC is set to announce a rise in first-quarter profits tomorrow, expected by analysts to be between \$99 million and \$110 million, against \$28.4 million last time. PHOTOGRAPH BY WEA, ASSOCIATED PRESS

American Notebook

How profits could go up in smoke



Mark Tran

THE tobacco industry has never paid a penny in damages to smokers, but that record is in jeopardy amid accumulating evidence that cigarette companies dissembled on the addictive power of nicotine, and new legal moves by opponents. The industry's only brush with defeat came when a court awarded \$400,000 (£258,000) to the relatives of a New Jersey woman, Rose Cipollone, until the decision was overturned on appeal. The basic argument deployed by tobacco companies — that smokers enjoy cigarettes at their own risk — has always triumphed. But that contention looks vulnerable after allegations by Jeffrey Wigand, a former senior executive with Brown & Williamson, a subsidiary of B&W in the US.

Most Wall Street analysts believe that the tobacco industry will wriggle free once more, but some are less certain. Diana Temple of Salomon Brothers believes that a huge smokers' class action suit in New Orleans could make it all the way to the Supreme Court. While other lawsuits are unlikely to affect tobacco company profits, she asserts that they will have a psychological effect, driving share prices down. Even before any trial, Mr Wigand, formerly a vice-president for research and development at B&W, has furnished devastating testimony against the tobacco industry. DURING CBS's prime-time 60 Minutes programme, he alleged that tobacco companies covered up evidence that nicotine is addictive, that they manipulated the level of nicotine in cigarettes and that tobacco executives lied under oath about these matters in front of Congress. The programme appeared after the Wall Street Journal had published a lengthy article on Mr Wigand's deposition in Mississippi, which is suing tobacco companies to recoup millions of dollars spent treating smoking-related illnesses. The tobacco companies are now marshalling arguments to counter that of "unjust enrichment", being used by Richard Scruggs in the Mississippi case. A veteran of the asbestos wars that led to the bankruptcy of Johns Manville, Mr Scruggs is using money he made then to take on tobacco. The Mississippi suit does not focus on allegations of wrongdoing, but on the general theme of justice and equity. The suit, filed by a group of lawyers brought together by Mississippi attorney general Mike Moore, seeks damages of \$500 million on behalf of the state — to cover the expenses Mississippi is said to have incurred to care for poor people with tobacco-related illnesses. Even if they lose, the tobacco companies are unlikely to sink into bankruptcy, but they will be obliged to bear a greater percentage of the costs picked up by taxpayers. In their defence, they argue that states are already compensated for smokers' health by the revenue from hefty excise taxes, that smoking imposes little extra cost on local governments — and may even save states money when sick people die young, and that health costs cannot fairly be separated from tobacco's overall contribution to the economy.

Privatisation 'bonanza for firms'

Colin Weston
Industrial Correspondent

PRVATISATION has enabled a small group of multinational companies to dominate public service provision in the Britain and the rest of the world, resulting in cartels, combines and corruption, according to research published today. Companies act together rather than in competition, combine resources to deal with large projects and ensure that states provide guarantees against financial default. The report, by a union-funded research unit, says advantages claimed for privatisation — that it introduces more competition, more private finance and reduces bureaucracy — are illusory. Dominant companies are a small group of multinationals which use the same sources of finance as the public sector but do not accept ultimate responsibility for financial or service performance. Corruption goes hand-in-

hand with contracting out and privatisation and there are corrupt practices in Britain and elsewhere, it says. Examples of how contracting out of public services, compulsory in Britain, has delivered local services into the hands of multinational companies include one company that serves school meals in Bromley, Kent, runs the water system in Buenos Aires, builds roads in the Czech republic and has been convicted of bribing the mayor of Grenoble in France to win the water concession. The operation of company combines should be a cause for concern, the research report says, citing a British water company which simultaneously bid with and against a partner — making any investigation of possible

collusion hard to pursue. The report, by the Public Services Privatisation Research Unit, cites 163 British service contracts which have been privatised without an in-house bid. It says the income tax, social security and driving licence computers are run by a US company which has never faced competition from the public sector although, in general, the private sector has no real technical advantages and the performance record of private contractors often compares badly. A public sector option should always be included in tendering and contracts should be open to public scrutiny, it concludes. ● *The Privatisation Network* (E10), PSPRU, 1 Mabledon Place, London WC1H 9AJ

collusion hard to pursue. The report, by the Public Services Privatisation Research Unit, cites 163 British service contracts which have been privatised without an in-house bid. It says the income tax, social security and driving licence computers are run by a US company which has never faced competition from the public sector although, in general, the private sector has no real technical advantages and the performance record of private contractors often compares badly. A public sector option should always be included in tendering and contracts should be open to public scrutiny, it concludes. ● *The Privatisation Network* (E10), PSPRU, 1 Mabledon Place, London WC1H 9AJ

Damages 'could bankrupt Merrett'

Pauline Springett

STEPHEN MERRETT, a former deputy chairman of Lloyd's of London, could be forced into bankruptcy by a demand this week to pay damages to Names who lost money after they invested in syndicates run by the Merrett Underwriting Agency. John Mays, chairman of the Merrett Names action group, said he was expecting an interim payment judgment "any time now". The judgment relates to last autumn's landmark High Court ruling, which said that nearly 2,000 Merrett Names, who had lost million of pounds at Lloyd's, had been the victims of negligence, underwriting and auditing. The Merrett syndicates were badly hit by pollution and asbestos losses in the US. The Names are expecting total damages of around £200 million. Mr Mays said

he believed this week's interim judgment would order an initial payment of around £10 million. "If we get the judgment we expect and we execute it against Stephen Merrett we could force him into bankruptcy," he said. Mr Merrett was the main underwriter on syndicate 318. The Names will also demand payment from the Merrett Underwriting Agency, around 60 members' agents and auditors Ernst & Young. After last year's hearing, Mr Justice Cresswell said he had serious reservations about Mr Merrett's approach as an underwriter. Following the court ruling, Lloyd's launched its own inquiry into Mr Merrett's activities. ● *The Commons Treasury and Civil Service select committee is due to reopen its inquiry into Lloyd's today with an appearance by the trade minister, Anthony Nelson.*

News in brief

Chinese order for Airbus

Airbus Industrie, the European consortium recently outbid in a series of key orders by its bigger rival, Boeing, is set to win a crucial Chinese order for up to 46 aircraft, worth as much as \$4 billion (£2.6 billion). Agence France Presse and the Hongkong Standard both reported that Chinese premier Li Peng told visiting French foreign minister Herce de Charette on Friday that China would place an order for between 30 and 40 A310s and six A340s. The Airbus partners are France's Aerospatiale, British Aerospace, Deutsche Aerospace, and Spain's Construcciones Aeronauticas.

Technology plan is aimed at smaller companies

Michael Bonister
Technology Editor

THE Government is to spend tens of millions of pounds in an attempt to increase the use of information and communications technology by small and medium sized businesses. Trade and Industry Secretary Ian Lang is later this week to announce a new scheme aimed at showing smaller firms how even quite restricted uses of technology can boost their business. One of the case studies being used is that of a family-run hotel which is receiving more than 50 inquiries a month from all over the world after it started to advertise on the World Wide Web, the fastest growing sector of the internet. At the other end of the scale is a fertiliser manufacturer based in Great Yarmouth which uses satellite images to pinpoint parts of a field which need attention and then uses positioning information from satellites to direct tractors to the right spots. Ian Taylor, the science and technology minister, says the scheme is aimed at demystifying technology. "Our view is that we cannot wait for the next generation, which is more familiar with new technology, to come through," he said. "Many companies should be deploying technology which will transform or protect their businesses now."

This week

THE banks' reporting season gets under way on Friday when the new Lloyds TSB will report possibly the strongest growth of any bank. The picture could be complicated by restructuring charges of up to £360 million and the acquisition of Cheltenham & Gloucester Building Society for which five months' results will be included. The bank will publish several sets of figures but most analysts are looking at a straight year-on-year comparison of the Lloyds TSB Group. Robert Law of Lehman Brothers expects the group to make a profit of £2,655 billion before any exceptional

charges, 14.6 per cent up on 1994. John Leonard of Salomon expects £2,024 billion, and Michael Lever of James Capel forecasts £2,007 billion. Both BP and Shell have benefited from firmer crude oil prices. Shell should show a rise from \$4 billion to \$4.58 billion for the full year. BZW expects BP to end the year with a dip in overall profit from £1.5 billion to £1.1 billion. **TODAY** — Interim: Amour Trust, Bryanston. **TUESDAY** — Interim: BOC (E11) — Finance: British Petroleum (E4), Irish Bank, Bank of St Helens, TR Pacific. **WEDNESDAY** — Interim: Halifax (E1); Finance: First Power, Lloyds ABLE, Life Vardon, AGM Daily Mail & General Trust. **THURSDAY** — Interim: Armitage, Pension, Finance: G.M. Commercial, Mercury Data, Royal Dutch/Shell, World Holdings. **FRIDAY** — Interim: Bore, Fidelity Bank, Tribune

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Bank tries to reassert authority

Larry Elliott
Economics Editor

THE Bank of England is voicing growing discontent at the way the Government conducts monetary policy, after a series of defeats at the hands of the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke.

With its advice on interest rates repeatedly rebuffed, the Bank is privately devising a strategy with parts of the anti-inflation framework set up after Britain left the Exchange Rate Mechanism in 1992. The short-term focus for the tension is the minutes of the monthly monetary meeting, released six weeks after Mr Clarke meets the Governor, Eddie George.

Thameside Street's argument is that the minutes give a lopsided account since they contain only the advice given by Bank officials and give no clue as to what the Treasury's mandarins said.

The Bank says that last May, when Mr Clarke refused to raise rates, the minutes failed to reflect the Chancellor ignored the advice not only of the Governor and his staff but Treasury officials too.

As late as August, the Bank was being asked by hawks in the Treasury why it was not taking a more aggressive line on interest rates. The Governor declined to intervene not only because he knew he would be rebuffed, but because the minutes would exacerbate signs of a split.

The Bank's own frustration is indicated by its insistence on presenting its advice in writing to ensure it is transcribed in the minutes correctly.

In the longer term, senior officials argue that the struc-

ture of monetary policy-making is untenable. They believe that there is no real prospect of going back to the pre-Black Wednesday arrangement — when the Governor was told what to do by the Chancellor and that ultimately the Bank will be given full operational autonomy under parliamentary scrutiny.

Most City analysts believe that for the time being the Chancellor remains in the ascendancy and will shave a further quarter-point off base rates in March.

Bank officials believe the Governor's advice last summer could start to look far sounder as this year wears on, with tax cuts, building society windfalls and the proceeds from maturing TESSAs pushing up both consumer spending and inflation.

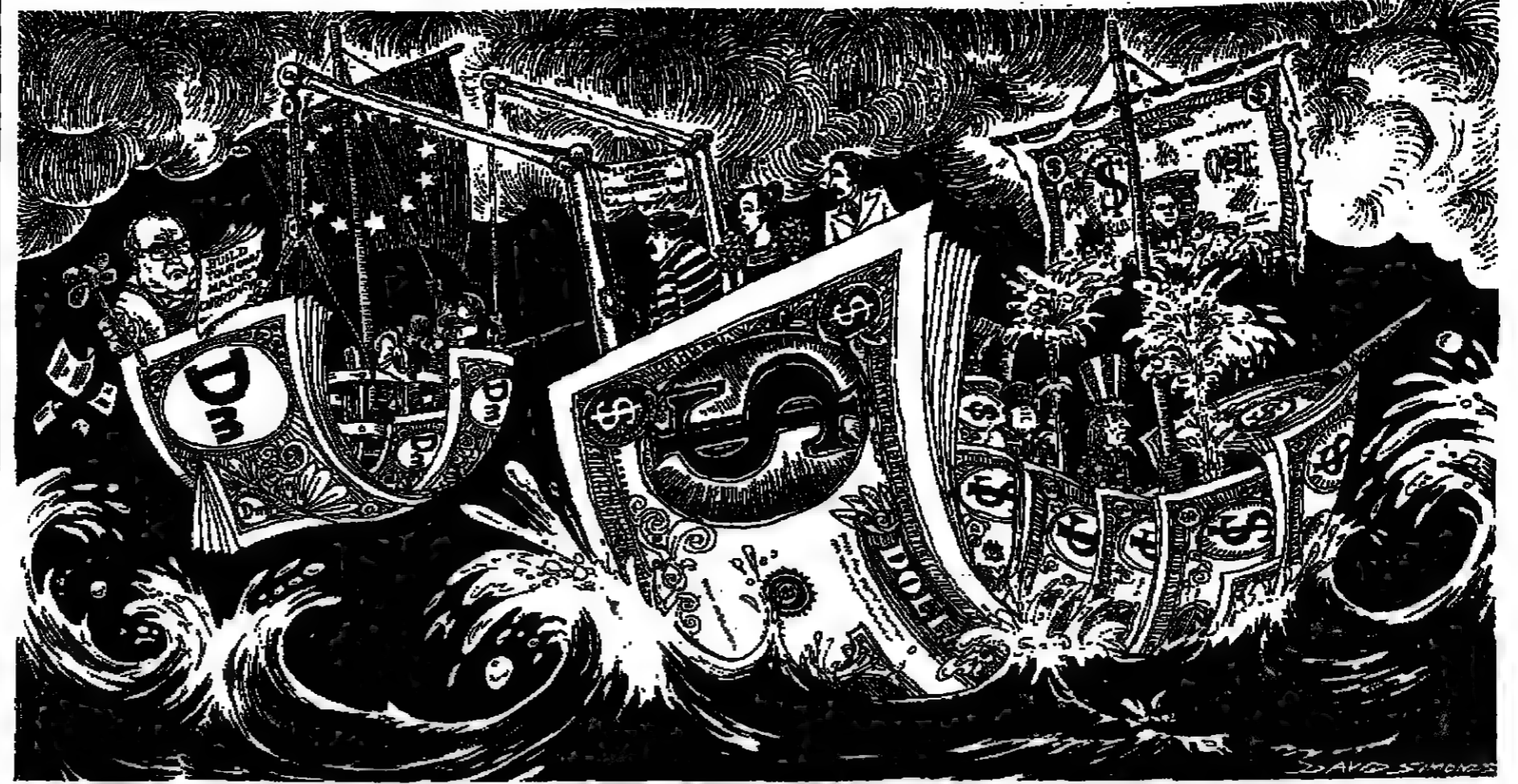
In an article for this week's quarterly bulletin, the Bank says that along with other countries with poor inflation records, Britain has moved towards a system in which the central bank is more accountable and transparent.

The report, co-authored by the Bank's economics director, Mervyn King, adds that international comparisons show that accountability and transparency serve as partial substitutes for independence, rather than as complements.

Citing the Bundesbank, the study concludes: "Countries with a good reputation for low inflation seem to be characterised by relatively low levels of accountability, and conversely for countries with less respectable inflation records, Britain has moved towards a system in which the central bank is more accountable and transparent."

"This is consistent with accountability having also served as a partial substitute for reputation among central banks whose monetary frameworks have yet to establish themselves fully."

The entire EU should shoulder the weight of international diversification out of dollars



Britain passes the euro buck



Will Hutton

CHANCELLOR Kohl may overstate his case, but in essence he is right. Europe has never managed to organise itself into a stable system of nation states in the past, and it is unlikely to do so in the future.

If the process of European integration is stalled, the Continent might not lapse into war in the lurid way he described in his Louvain speech, but things could become pretty tense all the same.

Left to itself, it is probable that the present European apparatus might have a better-than-even chance of rubbing along roughly as it is today. Europe's political institutions and the single market would remain, and the great post-war achievements would gradually become more entrenched even as they were reformed and modified. There need be no grand schemes for monetary or political union.

But Europe does not operate by itself, it is part of a global system whose malfunctions directly impinge on the Europeans — and which is the prime source of European despondency.

The Conservative and Labour leadership alike would clearly love to believe in the jogging-along-as-we-are option, obviating the need for hard choices and relieving the British of continual German pressure for more integration.

Yet the one thing that is clear about modern Europe is that the status quo is not sustainable. Moreover, the British interest, notwithstanding the outpourings of the Conservative right and some on the left, does not lie in a return to the European status system. Britain, as one of the weakest European economies, would be the loser.

The clearest example is money. If there was a stable international financial system with a solid anchor currency, Europe's states could happily organise themselves as a subset of the wider system. Europe could create a zone of comparative currency stability so the single market was not wrecked by competitive devaluations, either by operating a fixed but flexible exchange rate system or an even more flexible system of economic co-ordination around common inflation targets. The rationale for the single currency would fall away.

But there is no stable international financial system, and no solid anchor currency, and no solid anchor currency. The world currency is the depreciating and volatile dollar, and the system is the anarchy of floating exchange rates.

During the cold war — at the same time as its economy was dwindling in relative size — the US could escape from the strains of running an escalating trade deficit with countries it wanted to pull into the western sphere of influence while pumping out foreign investment and spending huge sums on defence. It simply swamped the world with dollars which Europe and Asia's central banks and wealth holders were compelled to hold — in part because it was a geo-strategic obligation and in part because there was no alternative. But the old rules no longer apply.

The cumulative effect of 25 years of American current account deficits is a huge mountain of unwanted dollars — and no good reason to hold them. The US is indifferent to the international value of the dollar — its interest rates are set not to compensate dollar holders for their capital losses but wholly on the demands of the US economy.

As a result, the dollar is steadily unwinding its role as an international currency. This is where the difficulty for Europe begins. Central banks and multinationals do not want to diversify into pounds, lire or even French francs; they want currencies that hold their value — in other words the yen and the mark.

Germany, in this respect, is a prisoner of its own success in achieving a steady if unspectacular growth. The mark is continually appreciating.

Thus Europe is trying to construct a zone of currency

port increases into France and Germany, as a result of the devaluation of the peseta and lira. The situation is likely to unwind soon.

The one reliable fact in the foreign exchange markets is overshoot, as traders rely on the "trend being their friend" to buy the appreciating currency and sell the depreciating one. Both the yen and the mark are overvalued on any criteria, but the overshoot could stay for years before there is an automatic correction.

In other words, the Germans (and the French) are facing further adjustment on top of the high unemployment from which they are already suffering. Both countries have unaccommodated jobs, but they are limited in their action by budget constraints — in part because of their commitment to the Maastricht criteria for monetary union and in part because the Maastricht criteria perversely have become the

not make German basic real wages uncompetitive. But that is exactly what is happening. Given time, the Germans could build on the 20 per cent jump in manufacturing productivity achieved over 1993 and 1994 and so preserve the German model, but the last thing the international financial system permits is time.

The best response is to Europeanise the problem so that the entire European economy should shoulder the weight of international diversification out of dollars — and the euro can emerge as a new world currency.

Much is made of the necessity of meeting the Maastricht criteria if the euro is going to be a hard currency, but the weight of dollar liquidity moving into euros will be perfectly sufficient to ensure it remains hard, given a modicum of sensible economic management. It will not be so hard as the mark, but as Germany cannot live with a currency that strong it is a pointless comparison.

Why should other European countries give up their autonomy to help Germany, and to a lesser extent France? The answer is if the problem cannot be Europeanised, then Germany will start to look for bilateral solutions. It might form a currency bloc with its satellites and insist that single market privileges are available only to its members; it could attempt to do a bilateral deal with France on the same basis.

Britain will look for allies to balance the rising power network; balance-of-power politics will be back with a vengeance — but this time, Conservative analysts please note, Britain will be playing the game without an empire or a robust US ally. German GDP is nearly twice Britain's, and over the low-growth 1990s the gap has widened, with

German GDP growing on average 1.6 per cent per annum against Britain's 1.1 per cent. Weak players enter this game at their own risk.

In any case, Europe has an interest in establishing a less overpowering and volatile financial system that blocks the break-out from this low growth. The euro could become a superb bargaining counter to force the US to take action to hold the dollar's value — and to create a new international system that is more growth-friendly.

But the transition, at least under present rules, is deadly. The 1999 deadline for a single currency is too soon: the convergence criteria imply continent-wide deflation, and success involves a degree of economic co-ordination for which neither the peoples of Europe nor its institutions are ready.

The right approach, as Barry Eichengreen, James Tobin and Charles Wyplosz argued in the Economic Journal last year, is to use a strengthened and altered ERM as the platform for a single currency, and so allow more time for convergence.

To make this feasible, European states need to establish a turnover tax on foreign exchange activity along with taxes on bank lending by non-residents in order to curb speculative activity — that will permit each state more autonomy to generate economic growth while laying the foundations for a single currency.

Yet even that requires a degree of co-operation between Britain, France and Germany that the British reaction to Chancellor Kohl's speech seems to forbid. Offering nothing constructive, Britain is creating a world in which it will be the loser. Such is the price of refusing to confront our myths.

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Too much capital chasing too little quality, says IPPR

Richard Thomas

reports on surprise conclusions from a left-wing think-tank

BRITAIN'S dismal investment performance has been too much, rather than too little, available capital, the Institute for Public Policy Research, a left-of-centre think-tank, says today.

Contradicting conventional Labour wisdom that companies are hamstrung by lack of cash, the IPPR claims that finance is easily available, but that insufficient attention is paid to the quality of investment plans.

David Rough, director of investment at Legal and General, criticises the volume, says institutional investors have supported rights issues too enthusiastically.

"The City's failure is not so much in being short-termist," he writes, "but in the criticism should be for not having made capital sufficiently scarce."

Mr Rough says finance houses need to spend more time with companies, carefully scrutinising capital spending plans, rather than simply doling out money in the hope of high returns.

Even small firms — which often complain of inadequate financing — have access to sufficient funds, according to the report, produced by the Institute's Commission on Business and Public Policy.

But there is a problem in the type of cash made available and the relationship between the lender and borrower. In the case of small

and medium-sized firms, there is still too much reliance on overdrafts rather than equity funding.

High-technology start-up firms find it difficult to attract funds, partly because lenders rarely understand the nature of the business.

One of the authors, David Storey from Warwick University, laments this "hair-dresser versus PhD problem". Although knowledge-intensive ventures are the most likely to succeed, hairdressers can raise capital more easily because the bankers know what they are dealing with.

Between Steve Robson, a Treasury finance director, describes them as the "Cinderellas of the debate".

The report lambasts the larger UK companies for "going mad", which is damaging long-term prospects. Management and financiers have both spent too much time on cash-hungry takeover battles, instead of focusing on the "organic" growth of their own companies.

The country's latest ground-breaking measure has made it the envy of right-wing economic and political thinkers around the world but the radical, neo-liberal economic blueprint was implemented by the New Left.

Labour won the snap election of 1984 after nine years of Conservative government under Robert Muldoon — and the policies of finance minister Roger Douglas would frighten off even the most ardent Blairite. International organisations, including the OECD, have credited the ensuing economic experiment with turning New Zealand's economy around from the 1984 liquidity crisis and have held it up as an example to the rest of the world.

But New Zealand academic Jane Kelsey challenges the benefits of the experiment in her book, *Economic Fundamentalism*, published in Britain this month. She documents the impact of this economic blitzkrieg (Douglas's term, not hers) and concludes that the benefits have been very narrowly distrib-

Breaking with pioneer spirit

Briefing

Sarah Ryle

NEW ZEALAND has been a land for pioneers since the first settlers put down roots in 1838. An economic, social and political landmark was reached when, in 1985, it created the world's first welfare state and it was also the first country to give women equal voting rights.

The country's latest ground-breaking measure has made it the envy of right-wing economic and political thinkers around the world but the radical, neo-liberal economic blueprint was implemented by the New Left.

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uted and that the reforms have disadvantaged many. Even the OECD observed (in a 1993 profile) that six years of Rogernomics — market liberalisation and free trade, financial deregulation and the mother of all privatisation programmes — had yielded little benefit.

In 1990, New Zealand suffered sluggish 0.1 per cent GDP growth compared to an OECD average of 2.6 per cent, high and rising unemployment (7.7 per cent compared to the OECD standardised average of 6.1 per cent) and high real interest rates. But the OECD did not blame the blueprint for the failure, in-

stead attributing the poor performance to the way the theory was implemented and the environment it existed in. And so the government which came to power in 1990 was able to continue the revolution based on a monetarist, anti-inflationary regime.

The move away from a pro-

tection economy to an open one was accelerated; foreign investment rules were relaxed; goods and services tax was introduced in 1986 on all final domestic consumption at 10 per cent, raised to 12.5 per cent in 1988.

Combined with a reform of direct taxation, bringing the top rate of tax down to 33 per cent, the fiscal system became significantly regressive. The poor also suffered from the virtual demolition of unions and the erosion of benefits. Forcing schools and colleges to respond to market forces led to an imbalance in training. Professional courses boomed, says Ms Kelsey, but

1 per cent. Unemployment rose from 4 per cent in 1986 to 8.1 per cent in 1994 (peaking above 10 per cent on the way). The economy picked up in 1993 and unemployment fell. But Ms Kelsey says that the signs in 1995 were that the economy was weakening once more and she also counts the social cost behind any headline success. By 1993 one in six New Zealanders was living below the poverty line.

She challenges the New Zealand Labour party's insistence that the 1984 reforms were necessary, pointing to Australia, where, she says, reforms have been slowly introduced and increased labour force liberalisation matched by a raised social wage. This is why British New Labour looks not to New Zealand but to Australia as a model for reforming an economy while preserving such fundamentals as the social contract.

But is either economy an example for Britain to emulate? Both seem to have reached the same economic position (see graphic) and market analysts argue that the Australian economy is too prone to inflationary pressure and should speed up its reforms. Goldman Sachs analysts, for example, have urged spending restraint to curb inflation and the "chronic current account deficit".

Ms Kelsey is reluctant to exonerate Australia from all of the criticisms levelled at New Zealand, arguing that the goals are similar even if the pace is different — which suggests that neither provides the model Tony Blair is looking for.

Economic Fundamentalism, Jane Kelsey, Pluto Press

Conquering our Norman laments

Worm's eye

Dan Atkinson

THE reverse of a recent circular from a firm of London brokers lists the financial gurus responsible for the insights contained within; you have never seen so many de Vores, French Whites and d'Arcys in your life. Twelve generations after the Conquest, the occupying forces still control the financial

interest, with a little help from the distraught and mortgage laws they passed in earlier centuries to legitimise the activities of benchmen such as the Sheriff of Nottingham, that great liberator of "dormant assets".

To add insult to injury, they have the nerve to call the resulting state of affairs "the Anglo-Saxon system". Trying to guess the likely shape of a truly Anglo-Saxon modern economy — none exists, thanks to the boyementioned Norman gunglers — is a fascinating what-if exercise. A breasting through Sir Francis Palgrave's 1876 *History of the Anglo-Saxons* does suggest that such a system would have turned out to be rather sounder than the one under which we now labour.

It is hard to imagine, for example, Alfred, the greatest Saxon king, having much time for swindlers,

fat cats, "privatisation consultants" and insider dealers. In one year, he hanged 44 judges who had taken bribes to give false judgment. The Treasury and the welfare state would have been in considerably safer hands: "His revenue was exactly apportioned and allocated; and one clear moiety of the money paid into his treasury was applied in works of charity and piety."

Working people might be enjoying a better deal had Anglo-Saxon society had a chance to survive into the 20th century. In the treatise of Eirikr, the labourer is described as one of the three pillars upon which stands the throne (the priest and the warrior are the other two). Downsize the worker and you downsize the whole of the state with him.

Ironically, given that the Saxons expended so much energy fighting them, the Danes have perhaps the closest modern-day equivalent of our hypothetical Anglo-Saxon economy: generous welfare, lots of jobs and high living standards.

But it could be that the Anglo-Saxons would have self-destructed anyway. In Palgrave's preface, his imaginary Saxon narrator notes: "We are strangely fond of novelty. Since the days of King Egbert, we have been accustomed to consider the French as the very patterns of good government and civilisation."

Nothing changes.

Indicators

TODAY — GBR Retail Sales (Dec), UK Producer Output Prices (Jan), JPI Trade Balance (Jan), TOMORROW — JPI Machinery Orders (Dec), US Employment Cost Index (Q3), WEDNESDAY — UK Unemployment (Jan), UK Average Earnings (Dec), UK BoE Intention report (Q1), THURSDAY — GER Bundesbank Council Meeting, UK Retail Price Index (Jan), US Factory Orders (Nov/Dec), FRIDAY — UK Public Sector Borrowing Requirement (Jan), US Industrial Production (Jan), Source: Kluwer Business Securities Ltd.

Tourist rates — bank sells

Australia 1.57	France 7.52	Italy 2.360	Singapore 2.12
Austria 15.30	Germany 2.2000	Malta 0.9490	Spain 38.24 5.42
Belgium 45.00	Greece 370.00	Netherlands 2.4750	Sweden 185.00
Canada 2.05	Hong Kong 11.65	New Zealand 2.33	Switzerland 1.7500
Cyprus 0.7075	India 57.06	Norway 9.64	Turkey 93.818
Denmark 8.53	Ireland 0.9575	Portugal 229.00	USA 1.5000
Finland 7.01	Israel 4.80	Saudi Arabia 5.58	

Supplied by NatWest Bank (excluding Indian rupee and Israeli sheqel) as at close of business on Friday.

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مكتبة الصالح

Athletics

Field takes a cut for Europa Cup

Stephen Bierley

IT IS a peculiar irony that just as the moment when Britain has been blessed with a number of world-class field athletes, notably Jonathan Edwards, Steve Smith and Steve Backley, there is a growing movement within the sport to make sure the public sees less of them. For this summer's Europa Cup in Madrid the European Athletic Association has reduced the number of throws and jumps by a third from six to four. The British Federation opposed the move but was outvoted. Mike Winch, the former international shot putter and current national event coach, has even suggested a boycott, but that is unlikely to happen. Television rules the roost and the field events, notably the high jump and pole vault, often obdurately refuse to conform to the live package. On Saturday, for example, ITV missed the demolition of the high jump and Smith's winning leap of 2.36 metres because the competition began late owing to problems with the take-off area. So television's last glimpse was of Steve Backley celebrating a clearance of 2.34m. At this juncture, and unbeknown to armchair viewers, the Norwegian left the Birmingham stadium to catch a plane for Germany, thus leaving Smith to snatch victory. ITV's time was up as his triumph missed. Fortunately Ashta Hansen's triple jump win conformed to allotted air time. Who would have supposed, even 12 months ago, that the dear and daft old hop, step

and jump could have attracted so much domestic attention? Hansen is some way short of Edwards's prowess but this victory over three women who finished in the top four at last year's world championships, including the gold-medal winner Inessa Kravets of the Ukraine, was hugely encouraging. Her winning jump of 14.58m was a British all-comers and Commonwealth indoor best. More importantly Hansen has been jumping beyond 15 metres outdoors during recent practice sessions in South Africa and this could put her in medal contention in Atlanta. The disqualification of Sally Gunnell and Sandra Farmer-Patrick for prematurely leaving their lanes in the 400m final was of minor consequence in the context of a season which will see both adhere strictly between the white lines in the 400m hurdles. The American, a silver medal winner behind Gunnell at the Barcelona Olympics, blamed officials for not clarifying the correct point where the women could cut inside. "I just followed Sally," said Farmer-Patrick, and Gunnell will hope it stays that way throughout this summer. Both were absent in Gothenburg when the Americans Kim Batten and Tonya Buford moved this relatively new event into fresh territory. It was the biggest win of Gunnell's renowned fighting powers to stay with the pace this summer, although so far, so good. With the sprint hurdler Colin Jackson turning his back on domestic competition save for the Welsh Games and

the Olympic trials, Tony Jarrett has the opportunity to win rather more races than usual, with a concomitant increase in confidence. Like Hansen and many other British athletes, Jarrett has been wintering in South Africa and his victory on Saturday over Allen Johnson, the American world champion, was as clean as a whistle. All those who have admired Jarrett's potential but unwelcome runner-up, will hope this could be his year, beginning with a gold at next month's European indoor championships in Stockholm. Martin Watkins, the coach of Mark Hyton, believes the fledgling 400m runner can also win in Sweden, with the main opposition coming from Germany's Julian Vokle. However, Du'aine Ladejo, back from an injury-wrecked 1995, may decide to try to add the indoor to his outdoor title, and on Saturday he narrowly defeated Hyton. Both lost out to the American Darnell Hall, the world indoor champion, and Derek Mills. British 400m running may be strong right now but this should not blind anybody to the power in depth of the United States. Power positively oozes from the compact frame of Mozambique's Maria Mutola as she blew away the 1,000m indoor record with a time of 2min 32.08sec. It was devastating running and an ominous warning to the British Olympic ambitions. Javier Sotomayor of Cuba produced the highest jump of this year's indoor season by clearing 2.37m at the French Open championships in Paris yesterday.



On the way back... Sally Gunnell finishes behind Deon Hemmings

Hockey

Waugh leads rout

Part Rowley

FINE performances by Billy Waugh and Duncan Woods that brought them back into international consideration ensured Southgate maintained their two-point lead of the table with an impressive 4-0 defeat of Teddington in the National League yesterday. Teddington did not play at all badly but it was their heaviest defeat of the season. Watched by David Waugh, the British team manager, Woods gave Southgate the lead against the run of play. Waugh then weighed in with two quality goals while Adrian Simmons hit the other two. Four points cover the top five, who all won to open up a four-point gap. Cammock stay second but improved their goal difference by winning 7-1 at St Albans. Rob Crutchley nudged the champions in the second round. Four points cover the top five, who all won to open up a four-point gap. Cammock stay second but improved their goal difference by winning 7-1 at St Albans. Rob Crutchley nudged the champions in the second round. Four points cover the top five, who all won to open up a four-point gap. Cammock stay second but improved their goal difference by winning 7-1 at St Albans. Rob Crutchley nudged the champions in the second round.

Judo

Bell on song for Britain

Duncan Steen

WITH a silver and a bronze from Saturday's judo, Britain completed their visit to the Tournai de Paris with a respectable clutch of medals. But there were still plenty of indications that work needs to be done if they are to have a chance in Atlanta of equalling the Barcelona tally of four medals. Most surprising was the silver medal for Diane Bell, the 72-year-old lightweight. At the top for over a decade, with two world titles behind her and constantly being asked when she is going to retire, she silenced everyone on British judo by reaching the final with style. The 21-year-lightweight Danny Kingston also knows that style can go with success as he produced a series of explosive throws to win a bronze, the first major international medal which promises to be a glittering career. Bell was on form from the start and, in her five fights, produced techniques she had never used before, showing she is still broadening her repertoire. Only Ileana Bertran of Cuba, who took the gold, managed to throw her in the final. The 19-year-old Cheryl Peel acquitted herself well, taking five places. Unexpectedly, there were no British medals in the women's featherweight division, with Sharon Rendle and her young rival Debbie Allan both being stopped in the repechage. Ray Stevens, the Olympic light-heavyweight silver medalist, went out in the second round.

Racing

Imperial Call has final say

Chris Hawkins

IMPERIAL CALL broke the British stranglehold on the Hennessy Cognac Gold Cup at Leopardstown when beating Master Oats by six lengths yesterday. It was the first Irish victory in the race for seven years and a mighty impressive one too. Conor O'Dwyer made all the running on Imperial Call and needed a set of wing mirrors from half way. Repeatedly looking behind, he saw no dangers and but for his mount making a mistake at the last would have had an armchair ride. Master Oats could not muster the pace to challenge but held off Monsieur Le Cure, who made two bad blunders, by a length and a half. Imperial Call, trained by Fergie Sutherland, is now a best priced 8-1 from 33's with Coral for the Cheltenham Gold Cup. Kim Bailey was not too disappointed with Master Oats and commented: "He will improve and this is a good stepping stone for Cheltenham. But the British bookmakers were not enamoured by the effort and Hill's knocked him out to 8-1 from 4-1. One minor hiccup was his time with all the leading firms. Master Oats was ridden by Jamie Osborne owing to the enforced absence of Norman Williamson who dislocated a shoulder on Saturday. It was rotten luck for Williamson only two days after returning from a four-month absence with a broken thigh, and there must be a doubt whether he will be fit for the Festival. He sustained this latest injury when Eskimo Nel fell in the Tote Gold Trophy, interfering with Pridwell, who kicked the prostrate jockey around like a football.

The big Newbury race went to Squire Silk who is now a top-priced 33-1 with Hill's for the Champion Hurdle. This was the biggest win of jockey Paul Carberry's career and for trainer Andy Turnell it was a victory to rank not far short of Maori Venture's Grand National success. Turnell, something of a genius as a jockey who defied gravity with his very short feathers, recalled that he was on what many thought a certainty in the race 20 years ago when Bird's Nest was brought down at the second. "Father (Bob) cried for a week after that and I've never had so much affection for the race until now," said Turnell. "I think Flagship put two previously disappointing runs behind him when beating Travado in the Game Spirit Chase and pleasantly surprised David Nicholson, although the trainer gave Adrian Maguire much of the credit for "a positive ride." One more run, possibly in the Emblem Chase at Kempton, is on the agenda for Viking Flagship before he goes for a hat-trick of wins in the Queen Mother Champion Chase for which he is an 11-4 chance behind 2-1 favourite Dan with Hill's. Punters Overhead went in all the notebooks after finishing like a train behind River Lissie in the Steve Harris Birthday Chase. Tony McCoy's mount made a bad mistake going down the back and many jockeys would have let him come home in his own time, but a sustained challenge in the straight almost succeeded. It was a remarkable effort from Punters Overhead on his fencing debut and he was cut from 33-1 to 12-1 for the Sun Alliance Chase at Cheltenham. Mr Mulligan, due to run at Ascot on Wednesday, is the 6-1 favourite.

Southwell AW with form

Table of race results for Southwell AW, including race numbers, names of horses, and their finishing positions.

Hereford

Table of race results for Hereford, including race numbers, names of horses, and their finishing positions.

Plumpton

Table of race results for Plumpton, including race numbers, names of horses, and their finishing positions.

Advertisement for tea featuring a cartoon illustration of a man and a woman sitting at a table. The man is looking at a teacup and saying, 'NO, I DON'T KNOW WHEN OLIVER WILL BE HOME FOR TEA.' The woman is looking at her watch. The text 'IMPERIAL CALL' is visible in the background.

Table of race results for Southwell AW, including race numbers, names of horses, and their finishing positions.

Table of race results for Hereford, including race numbers, names of horses, and their finishing positions.

Table of race results for Plumpton, including race numbers, names of horses, and their finishing positions.

Table of race results for Plumpton, including race numbers, names of horses, and their finishing positions.

Soccer

Premiership: Queens Park Rangers 1, Liverpool 2

Fowler heaps pressure on QPR

Martin Thorpe

QUEENS Park Rangers are now in grave danger of going down, and though they are not lying down yesterday's defeat was their seventh running in a league they are now favourites to be departing at the end of the season.

are now second from bottom of the Premiership and six points from safety with just 12 league games — many of them difficult — remaining. Beating Liverpool from 0-0 is hard enough but trying to come back from two goals down is nigh impossible, especially if you squander the few golden chances that come your way, as Rangers largely did. "To say I'm worried now is an understatement," said the manager Ray Wilkins.

"We were awful," he said bluntly. "When you take your foot off the accelerator it is difficult to get it back on again." Wilkins once again rang the changes in an attempt to find a winning blend, dropping his record signing Hateley as well as Allen and McDonald. In came Gallen and Dichio up front — a club partnership since their schoolboy days — and they were presented with enough chances to have won the game.

A Rangers goal then would have been just reward for the home side's early domination and might dramatically have altered the shape of the game. As it was, that honour went to Rangers' old friend — bad luck Scales, up for a corner, shot at goal and saw the ball cannon off Holloway and fall into the path of Wright. The big defender took aim from inside the penalty area and drove the ball past Sommer.

Collymore had already hit the bar and Liverpool took over from them. Their second goal came on 31 minutes — and what a brilliant strike it was. One minute Rangers were taking a corner, the next James was throwing the ball out to Collymore on the half-way line.

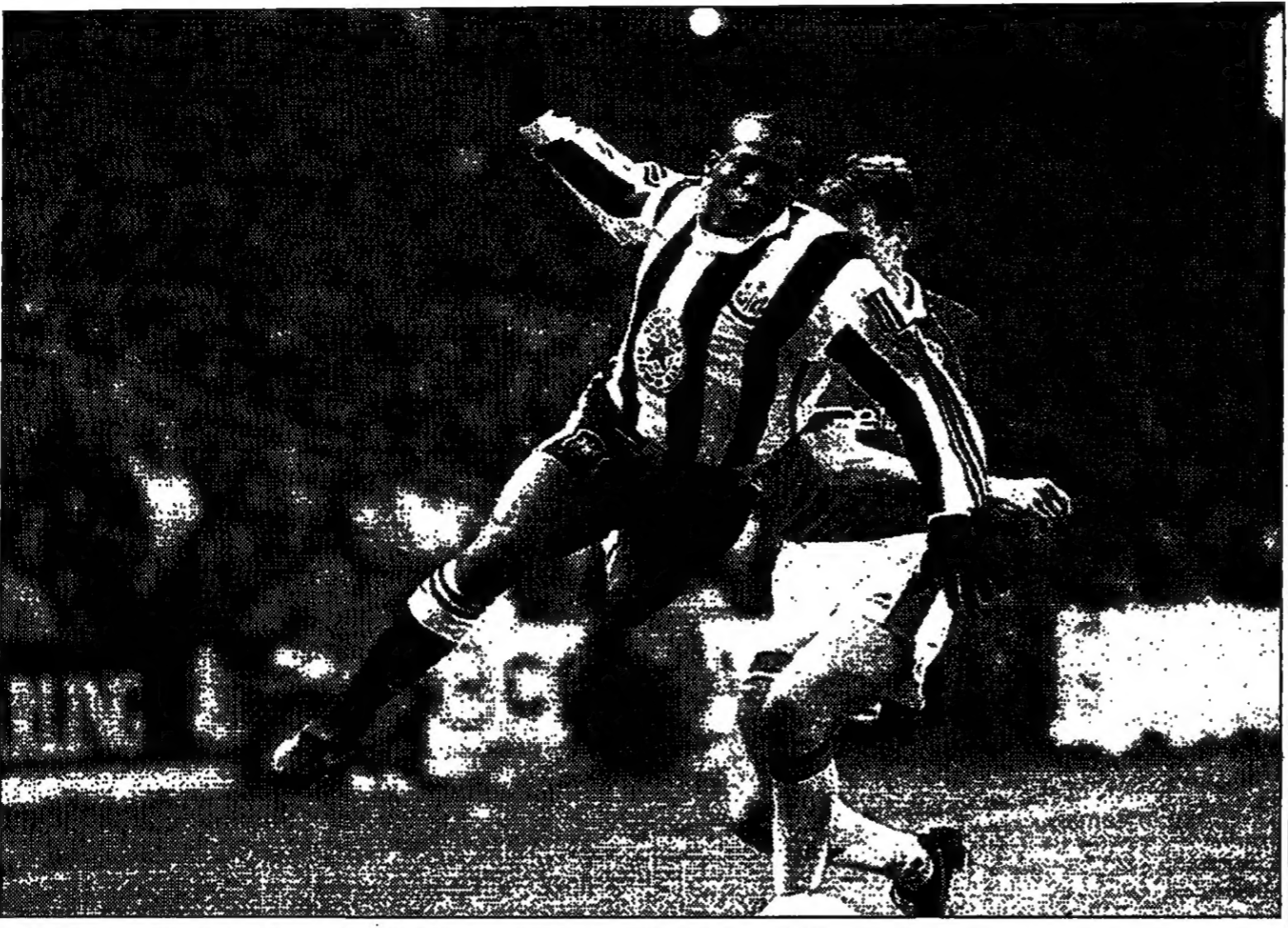
Rangers took over the game and went for the equaliser. And twice it looked on First Dichio's run at goal took him past Wright, but from a great position he blasted over the bar. That was on 75 minutes. Two minutes later Sinclair weaved past three defenders and, with sainthood in his sights, also found composure wanting and blasted over top. He hung his head in his hands, knowing what that miss meant.

Middlesbrough 1 Newcastle United 2

Asprilla changes all in an instant

David Hopps on how the Colombian showed he might just be worth £6.7 million

PEOPLE had muttered about the habit of firing guns at carnivals. They even alluded to cocaine. But today the talk is again of Faustino Asprilla the footballer after a startling debut which strengthened Newcastle's grip on the Premiership.



In the balance... the elusive debutant Asprilla feels the weight of a crude challenge from Middlesbrough's Morris

Asprilla's entrance into English football was exhausting. Newcastle's gabbled phone call advising they had received his work permit, a hurried flight in Sir John Hall's private jet to Teesside Airport and a hasty introduction to his team-mates was followed by a match of bedlam.

The Colombian looked disoriented, oblivious to the frenzy around him, but his footballing intelligence was unmistakable as he automatically became the focal point for attacks which had previously foundered against Boro's caustic defence.

minutes later was exultant: a leisurely sway to defeat Vickers, and the calmest of left-wing crosses for Watson to head the equaliser. When Whelan's misplaced pass was seized upon by Beardsley, and Ferdinand's stubbed shot rolled under Walsh's body, Asprilla celebrated the second goal with the merest gesturing of a finger and a reluctant trail over to his colleagues.

ful back-heel through Morris' legs left the crowd gasping and Beardsley's pass had put him clean through on goal when referee Dunn blew for time. Middlesbrough had rescaled the heights of early season, yet suffered their seventh successive Premiership defeat.

conservation. "I was thinking about playing him," he said. "but he had not played a full game for Parma for nearly three months. From what I understood of his Spanish, afterwards he was totally knackered. Twenty minutes was about all he could manage."

they're not good enough. They say, why not bring in the juniors? I say, they are not there. When I became Newcastle manager, they had an average age of 21 and they were heading for the Third Division.

Manchester United 1, Blackburn Rovers 0

No edge but Sharpe finish

Cynthia Bateman

MANCHESTER United, having won the lottery in the form of a £60 million sponsorship in mid-week, are now left with the more immediate problem of whether they will ever be able to get the cork out of the champagne bottle.

Thankfully Cantona's repertoire still had some surprises left and he released these little treats — a smart back-heel here, a threaded pass there — at regular intervals, a saline drip to a match that was otherwise dying on its feet.

Coventry City 1, Chelsea 0

Atkinson's men get the better of the bumps

Russell Thomas

COVENTRY eagerly raised their stock and refurbished some reputations at the expense of Chelsea, whose lofty status was knocked into harrier perspective on the distinctly rough terrain of Highfield Road.

For the third successive game Whelan took possession on the right side of the area, this time supplied by Richardson's subtle pass, advanced and waited for the goalkeeper to commit himself before chipping over his body. The young striker clearly has other shots in his locker — this was his seventh goal in 11 games — but conceding "I'll have to come up with something different now."

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It rattled United's nerves enough to raise the tempo for the final few minutes of an uninspired afternoon. "At times we lack a cutting edge," admitted Ferguson, awarding his side only seven out of 10. Asprilla's arrival on Tyneside underlined the point.

Gascoigne gestures test Smith's patience

Patrick Glenn

PAUL GASCOIGNE looks to have caused further disciplinary problems for the Rangers manager Walter Smith with more provocative gestures during Saturday's 2-2 victory over Motherwell.

On Saturday, though, Gascoigne was rightly cautioned for another antagonistic gesture towards the visiting defender McCart — two fists pushed under his nose — after the latter had brought down Gascoigne to concede the penalty from which McCoist scored Rangers' winning goal.

First Division: Derby County 0, Wolves 0

Derby Trojans lack a Hector

Commentary David Lacey

LAST September, when Mark McGhee's transfer loyalties lay with Leicester City, his team beat Wolverhampton Wanderers playing sharp and imaginative attacking football. But afterwards McGhee brought everybody back to earth.

Chris Powell, an £800,000 full-back from Southend. Powell is a quick, sound defender who has probably found his natural level at Derby. Jim Smith has knocked around the game long enough to learn the art of buying and selling he is in credit, despite all the changes made since he took over last August.

With a new stadium due the season after next, Derby County are gearing up for the top-class football they last saw in 1991. But, for all the millions injected by the chairman Lionel Pickering, at least as much would have to be spent again to bring the team up to Premiership scratch.

The ease with which Derby County, who have led the First Division since the Saturday before Christmas, were held in a goalless, largely uneventful match suggested that what may be about to come up is no more inspiring than that likely to go down.

With Goodman, the Wolves player most likely to break the stalemate, similarly out of luck, the match came to be dominated by its foreign sweepers. The only serious discomfort suffered by Stimac came early on, when Bull trod on the Croatian's head, and De Wolf, Wolves' hirsute Dutchman, was only briefly incapacitated after Gabbadini tugged his trailing tresses.

At the moment the First Division looks much as the original First Division could have done about the time of the abdication 50 years ago. Derby County lead by large points from Charlton Athletic with Huddersfield third and Sunderland not far away.

Apart from the header that Goodman saw cleared off the line by Willems 20 minutes from the end, none of the misses was near enough to be called a near miss. The difficulty both attacks had in unravelling each other's defences contrasted sharply with the way Tottenham and Leeds had eventually torn Wolves and Derby apart in the FA Cup.

Crystal Palace 0, Sheffield United 0

Noades Messiah has much to do

Mark Redding

RAY LEWINGTON walked off alone, his head bowed, picture of dejection. Ron Noades had his latest Messiah who was even now bounding on to the pitch, glad-handing new and old players alike.

said, Bassett was being hired for his "motivation and management skills". The new manager said of Palace on Saturday: "I was pleased with their attitude and their enthusiasm. Lewington confirmed that he would be staying on, retaining his title of senior coach, with Peter Nicholas continuing as his sidekick. "We'll be giving Harry our backing, no problem," he said. This had been his last game in charge.

Manchester United 1, Blackburn Rovers 0

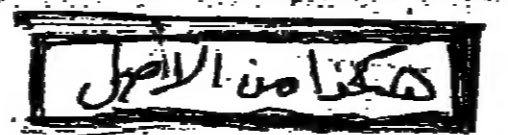
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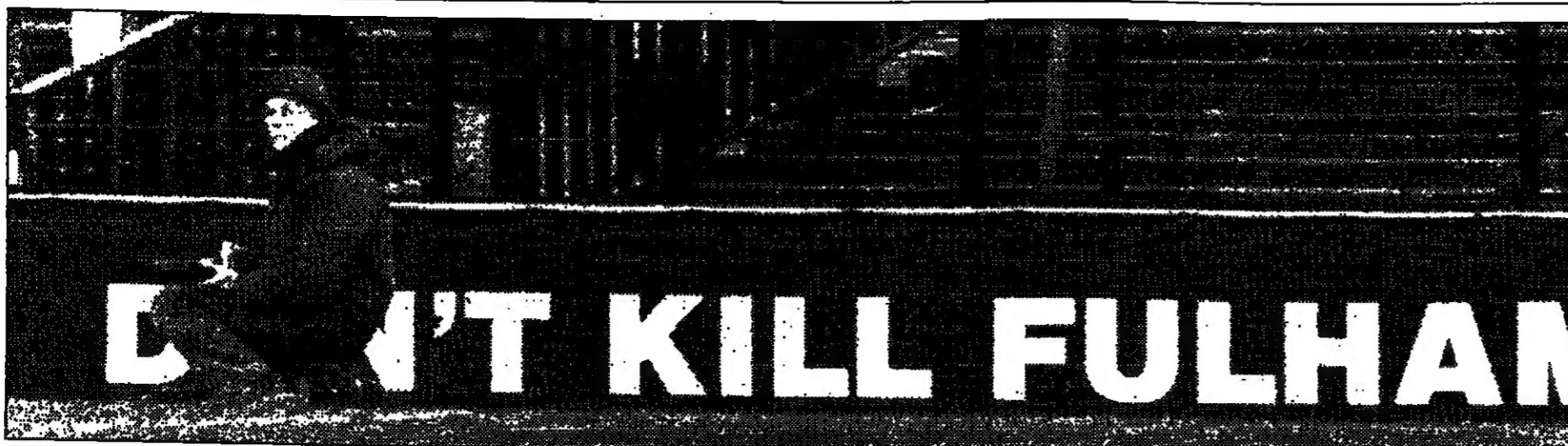
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Crystal Palace 0, Sheffield United 0

RAY LEWINGTON walked off alone, his head bowed, picture of dejection. Ron Noades had his latest Messiah who was even now bounding on to the pitch, glad-handing new and old players alike.





Sign of the times... the going is tough for the club that lured only 2,700 supporters to Saturday's 2-2 draw with Hartlepool

PHOTOGRAPHS: FRANK BARON

IT KILL FULHAM

Freerfalling Fulham still under a cloud

Martin Thorpe at Craven Cottage sees a team down on their luck and managing to plumb new depths after 99 years

THREE successive defeats had left Fulham second from bottom of the Football League, a mighty fall from the days of Haynes and Mullery, Best and Marsh. But on Saturday the team were 2-0 up against Hartlepool and, by the current team's modest standards, cruising. Crisis, what crisis? Final score 2-2.

In confidence. Only Torquay stand in the way of Fulham, tumbling into the Football Conference.

Branfoot is confident that he can avoid the ignominy — "of course we can", he says bullishly. And recent chants of Branfoot Out will not influence the chairman Jimmy Hill. "If the team stopped fighting for him, as happened in previous cases at Fulham, fine. But that isn't the case."

Branfoot calls the supporters who have been abusing him at recent games "four-mouthed and ignorant". And though he is sympathetic to Fulham fans' frustrations over the club's decline, he does not blame the people calling for his head. "I don't realise the situation of the club's in. If we're not careful there isn't going to be a Fulham FC."



Tread carefully... Ian Branfoot hears the post-match views of Hartlepool's Keith Houchen

Weekend results

Table of football results for various leagues including Soccer, FA Cup, and Football League. Columns include league names, teams, and scores.

Table of results for various sports including DUTCH LEAGUE, TENNIS, RUGBY UNION, RUGBY LEAGUE, and HOCKEY. Columns include event names, participants, and outcomes.

Table of results for various sports including GOLF, CRICKET, and other minor sports. Columns include event names, participants, and outcomes.

Cricket

Laser dazzle fails to lift Cup gloom

THE 110,000 people who jammed into Eden Gardens in Calcutta last night saw a dazzle of laser light and ethnic dancing inaugurate the sixth World Cup. After doubts that it might go ahead at all, it was something to celebrate. But it goes ahead as a devalued competition after the organiser, Ploom, failed to reach agreement with either Australia or West Indies over the scheduling of matches in Sri Lanka.

Fairbrother joins injury list

NEIL FAIRBROTHER lengthened England's castaway list yesterday after crashing into a fence during fielding practice. The Lancashire batsman had four stitches in a head wound and was treated for a cut hand.

Basketball

Defeats leave Leopards out of reckoning

AND so the Leopards fall again. England's castaway list yesterday after crashing into a fence during fielding practice. The Lancashire batsman had four stitches in a head wound and was treated for a cut hand.

Motor Sport

Alpine Skiing

Swimming

Snooker

Hockey

Fixtures

Soccer

Rugby Union

Rugby League

Golf

Cricket

Chess

Women's World Championship

Red Stripe Cup

Scottish Cup

Scottish League

Scottish Premier League

Scottish Football League

Scottish Football League

Scottish Football League

Scottish Football League

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Scottish Football League

TV cuts field down to size, page 13

Gascoigne tests Smith's patience, page 14

Asprilla gives Keegan a ready answer, page 14

Craven images in South-west London, page 15

SportsGuardian

Swinburn poorly after fall

Ben Cox

WALTER SWINBURN, winner of three Epsom Derbys, last night lay unconscious in the intensive care unit of a Hong Kong hospital after suffering a crashing fall at Sha Tin racecourse.

Liffey River, his mount in a race for two-year-olds, jinked left after the starting stalls opened, veered across the track and smashed through the inside running rail, catapulting Swinburn to the ground.

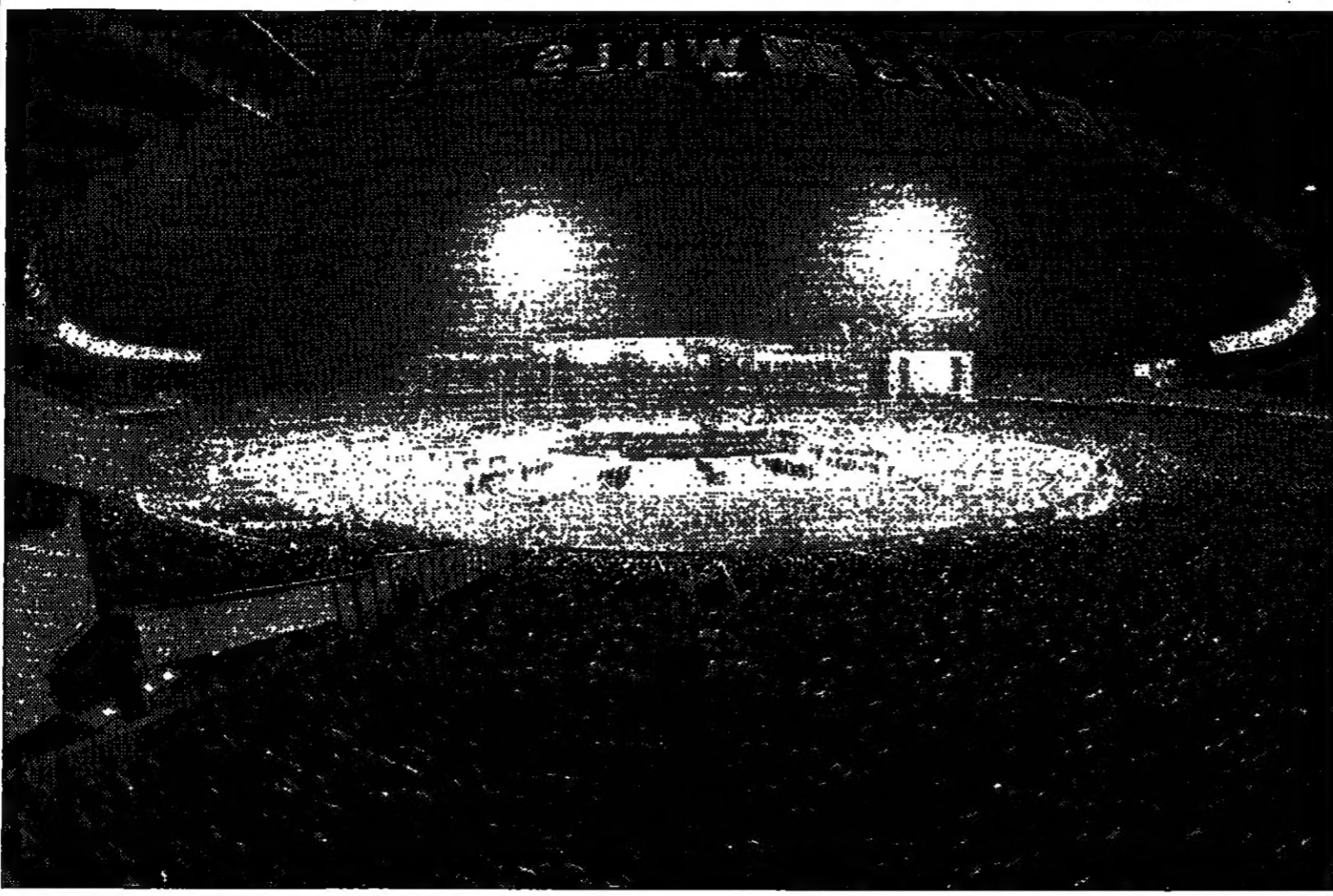
In addition to head injuries, Swinburn has broken some ribs and his collar bone and has fluid on his lungs. A spokesman for the Prince of Wales Hospital described his condition as "poor" but the jockey's injuries are not believed to be life-threatening.

Swinburn, 34, has long been an ardent admirer of racing in Hong Kong, despite having also taken a tumble at the start of a race at Sha Tin two years ago which saw him detained in hospital overnight.

The latest incident is a stark reminder of 1984 when Brian Taylor, who won the 1974 Derby on Snow Knight, was killed in a fall at Sha Tin and the French jockey Philippe Paquet sustained injuries there which ended his career.

Swinburn has time and again proved himself the man for the big occasion. He won the Prix de l'Arc de Triomphe on All Along in 1983 but missed the winning ride on Lammtarra last year when he was controversially replaced by Frankie Dettori. Swinburn also lost his retainer with Sheikh Maktoum al Maktoum this year but was due to ride in Dubai next month.

CRICKET WORLD CUP OPENS IN A BLAZE OF LIGHT



Oh Calcutta... a crowd of 110,000 witnesses yesterday's glittering opening ceremony at Eden Gardens. Mike Selvey, page 15 PHOTOGRAPH: MIKE HEWITT

Unbeatable Wigan lose at last

The Central Park old boys at Salford break the holders' eight-year stranglehold on the Challenge Cup. Paul Wilson reports

IT HAD to happen one day but increasingly it was becoming difficult to say precisely when. The unthinkable finally happened yesterday when Wigan's eight-year stranglehold on rugby league's Challenge Cup was ended in the fifth round at the unlikely

hands of First Division Salford. Then again, perhaps the Manchester side were not such unlikely conquerors. Wigan might be able to beat prospective Super League teams at will but at The Willows they were up against a determined selection of Central Park old boys.

Cosched by Andy Gregory, who won five of his seven Wembley winners' medals with Wigan, Salford also had a reliable last line of defence in Steve Hampson, a veteran full-back happy to reinforce his claim that the perennial champions had discarded him prematurely.

But it was not just the big names who came back to haunt Wigan. Scott Naylor, a reserve whom even the most dedicated Central Park regular might struggle to remember, weighed in with two important tries in the 26-16 victory. Another Wigan reject, the stand-off Steve Blakeley, kicked five goals and took the Man of the Match award.

There were no complaints from the holders afterwards. "I'm very disappointed but the better side won on the day," said the Wigan captain Shaun Edwards.

Jack Robinson, the Wigan chairman, was equally honest. "Salford beat us fair and square. They seemed to want it more than we did." Cup ties are never easy at Salford's compact ground, especially when 10,000 partisan supporters are packed in, but the team sheets still stacked up in Wigan's favour.

Young's touchdown from Lee's kick gave the home side a lead they never surrendered, then Naylor, who three years ago cost Salford all of £25,000, took Lee's pass to score another. Blakeley kicked his second goal, then added a penalty and the First Division side were 14-0 in front.

Tuigamala managed a try for Wigan just before the interval, only for Naylor to restore Salford's advantage early in the second half. O'Flah scored under the posts to reduce the deficit to 10 points but Salford more than held their own and put the issue beyond doubt when Martin scored 13 minutes from time.

There was still time for Tuigamala to score his second of the afternoon but it was a marvellous volley past the top far angle after 16 minutes. From that moment Birmingham always believed they could achieve a significant lead. Their midfield was tireless in pursuit of space and possession, the gangling Francis, 3ft 7in of arms and knees, became an increasingly awkward problem for Beesley and Wetherall, and always Claridge was harassed.

Coca-Cola Cup semi-final, first leg
Birmingham City 1, Leeds United 2

Whyte slip gives Leeds a glimpse of final goal

David Lacey

LEDS United survived the Birmingham experience unscathed yesterday to move within sight of their first League Cup final for 26 years and their first final of any kind at Wembley for 23.

A 2-1 lead guarantees nothing for the return game but on the evidence here Leeds should have enough attacking nous to go through to meet Arsenal or Aston Villa on March 24.

Yesterday was Birmingham City's day and for a time it promised to be Birmingham's story. Certainly Barry Fry's enthusiastic, hard-working First Division team provided the bulk of the drama.

But in the end Leeds provided the anticlimax, responding to the lead Birmingham had taken midway through the first half with two goals after the interval, the second of these going in off a home defender, Whyte.

For their visit to Elland Road, Birmingham will put their trust in the pace and persistence which for a time yesterday had Leeds grateful simply to keep the ball beyond scoring range. The tie is not over yet.

Yesterday Leeds looked impressive at times, nervous at others. The opening quarter-hour was a demonstration of McAllister's creative skills but, as soon as Birmingham began to sustain pressure, Howard Wilkinson's defence started to dissolve in a familiar fashion.

Nobody encapsulated the spirit of Birmingham better than Claridge, whose career has been spent trudging around football's lowlands. He was more determined than anybody not to let the chance of appearing in a major Wembley final pass. Socks down, shirt and shorts flapping, Claridge announced Birmingham's presence with a marvellous volley past the top far angle after 16 minutes.

ing and hustling opponents into error. St Andrews sensed celebrations were not far away. Sure enough, Birmingham took the lead after 35 minutes. A ball from Sheridan, on loan from Sheffield Wednesday, caught Beesley out of position on its way to Claridge, who nodded Francis through to score with a resounding shot from just beyond the penalty arc.

At this point Leeds, for all McAllister's scolding, had lost their sense of tactical discipline. Yeboah, however, remained a consistent threat to Birmingham's lead.

The Ghanaian's close control and tight turns were ever likely to conjure scoring opportunities. Eight minutes into the second half a mistake by Johnson allowed Wallace to send Yeboah through for misses and Gremnik was beaten by a low shot into the far corner.

St Andrews looked blue but, after Fry had brought on Donowa and Otto to give his attack more natural width, Birmingham re-established the sort of chance he rarely misses and Gremnik was beaten by a low shot into the far corner.

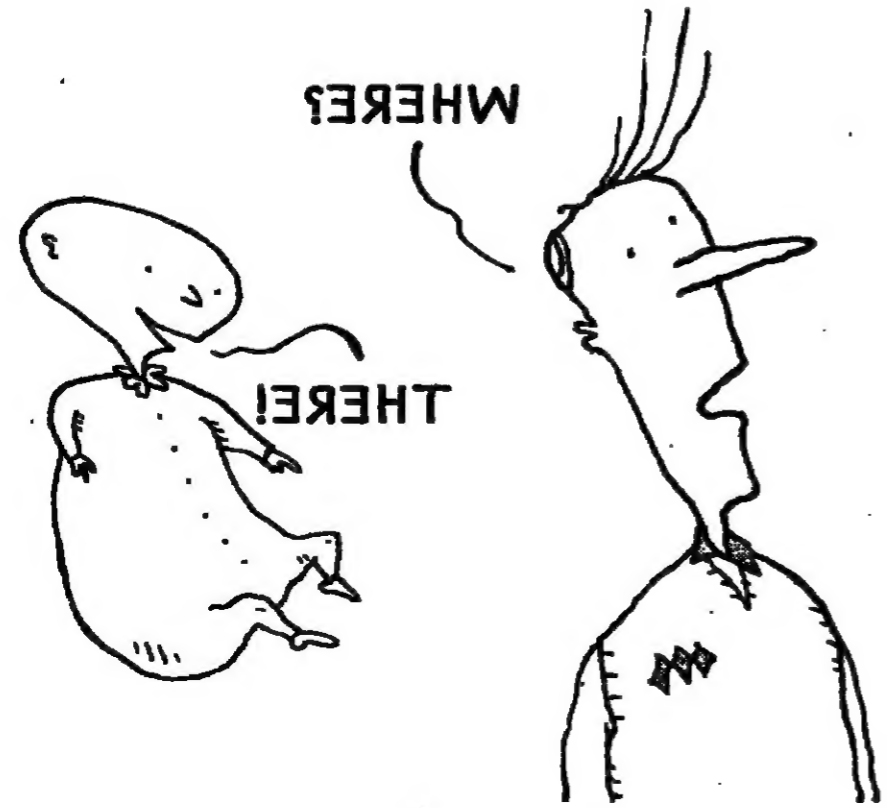
By that time, however, Leeds had gone ahead. In the 72nd minute Yeboah met Kelly's cross from the right with a sharp downward header, whereupon the ball flew up, struck the head of the hapless Whyte and sailed on beyond Gremnik's reach.

With Bowen, another Birmingham substitute, dragging his shot wide in the 88th minute with only Lukic to beat St Andrews could only reflect on what might have been — or what might lie ahead at the FA, McAllister having been struck on the head in the first half by an object thrown from the crowd.

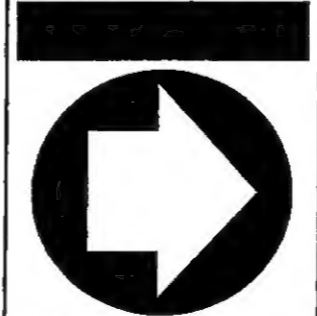
Birmingham are already under threat of playing a match behind closed doors, following crowd incidents during the First Division game against Millwall in November. Yesterday's occasion did not deserve to be spoiled by more idiocy.

Birmingham City: Gremnik; Bass, Livers, Johnson, Fran, Hall, Sheridan (Bowen, 77min), Forsyth (Oto, 88), Cooper (Donowa, 55), Francis, Claridge. Leeds United: Lukic, Kelly, Wetherall, Beesley, Dorp, Palmer, McAllister, Ford, Speed, Wallace (Dennis, 84), Yeboah. Referee: K Cooper (Prestonparks).

The WORLD of OLIVER & CLAIRE



PAGES 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24

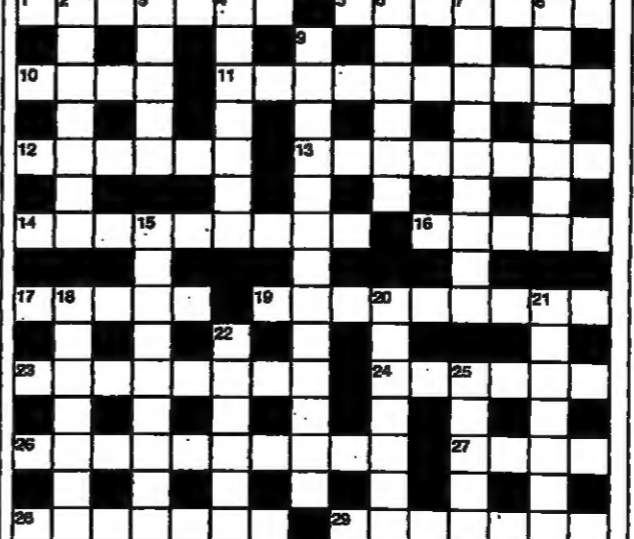


"I'm bored stiff by Thatcherite right wingers, and I am a Thatcherite right winger. The left can never die because being either left or right is part of the human personality."
Frank Johnson on editing the Spectator

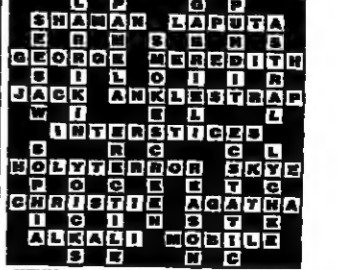
G2 page 9

Guardian Crossword No 20,573

Set by Crispa



- Across**
- 1 Models without work — such shapeless lump! (7)
 - 5 Leaves quietly in chains maybe (7)
 - 10 Game that's exclusively for males (4)
 - 11 Bear with the little page putting on weight (10)
 - 12 Sanctimonious, yet almost making a bit of a bloomer (8)
 - 13 Day's end — flat time (8)
 - 14 Bore takes part free possibly. There's nothing in that (8)
 - 16 Forays made by Round-head auxiliaries (8)
 - 17 Project to cause confusion (5)
 - 19 The woman responsible for a leading light in the cinema world (8)
 - 23 Bed-sit by the Avon which is barely used? (8)
 - 24 Call for more heat after certain points are put (8)
- Down**
- 2 Preliminary plan for striking bar (7)
 - 3 Simple form of illumination (5)
 - 4 Common or very far from common in a tree (7)
 - 6 A supplementary note about cereal costs (5)
 - 7 Right name coined for a nasty experience (8)
 - 8 Concentrated, being somewhat dense (7)
 - 9 Men test-drive a convertible for publicity (13)
 - 15 Reckless writer after dope (8)



This week's winners of a Collins English Dictionary are B. R. Stevens of Newquay, Cornwall, Mrs. S. Egan of Humberston, Lincolnshire, Guywood, Richard Wood of Gillingham, Wiltshire, D. J. Starck of Lee, London, and Andrew Sargent of Rochdale, Lancashire.

- 18 Get to know about the Calluna (7)
- 20 Section of the Spanish and French taking people in (7)
- 21 A suggestion to involve the queen causing a row (7)
- 22 Building up reserves can be so hard (6)
- 25 Many blame the box (5)

Solution tomorrow
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